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The
CHRISTIAN CENTURY

Published Weekly

The Attack on Lindbergh
An Editorial

Whose Standard of Living?
By Milton F. Wells

America and the War
By Dwight J. Bradley and Albert W. Palmer

Conscripts for Conquest?
By Harry Emerson Fosdick

No Democracy for India
An Editorial

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In This Issue

DWIGHT J. BRADLEY

since 1938 has been executive director of the Council for Social Action of the Congregational and Christian Churches. He is the author of seven books, the latest of which is *By Faith,* published two years ago. He was professor of social ethics in Andover Newton Theological Seminary when called to his present position and before that pastor in Newton Center and Boston, Mass., Cleveland, O., and El Paso, Texas.

ALBERT W. PALMER

was pastor of leading churches of his denomination in Oakland, Cal., Honolulu, T. H., and Oak Park. Ill., before assuming the chair of practical theology and the presidency of Chicago Theological Seminary in 1930. He too is the author of seven books, the latest, *The Art of Conducting Public Worship,* having been published last year.

HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK

is minister of the Riverside Church, New York. He recently broke his vacation and went to Washington to testify against the conscription bill. The article which appears in this issue was part of an address which he made over the Columbia Broadcasting Svstem from Boston on the evening of August 7. It reached us too late for publication in full.

MILTON F. WELLS

is assistant superintendent of the American Baptist Publication Society. His office is in Philadelphia. The enterprise with which he is connected is one of the largest businesses conducted by any Protestant church.

Contributions Received

Contribution to the U. S. Committee for the Care of European Children

J. H. Sally, Liberal, Kan...$20.00
Mrs. L. C. Bradford, 714 Park Place, Spokane, Wash. 5.00

The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

August 21, 1940

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Calendar of Coming Events

Aug. 18-24. Institute of World Missions, Chautauqua, N. Y.
Aug. 19-23. Presbyterian Ministers' Forum, Montreat, N. C.
Aug. 19-25. Iowa Yearly Meeting of Friends, Oskaloosa.
Aug. 19-31. Regional Youth Conference, Lake Geneva, Wis.
Aug. 20-23. W. C. T. U. Training School, Toronto, Can.
Aug. 20-25. Seventh Day Baptist General Conference, Battle Creek, Mich.
Aug. 23. Youth Temperance Council Encampment, Rock Lake Assembly, Mich.
Aug. 23-26. Youth Temperance Council Encampment, Camp Elizabeth Lupton, Tenn.
Aug. 23-30. Quaker Summer Leadership Institute for Young People, Shawnee-on-the-Delaware, Pa.
Aug. 23-Sept. 2. Camp Meeting, Ocean Grove, N. J.; E. G. Homrighausen and E. Stanley Jones, speakers.
Aug. 24-31. Eastern Great Lakes United Christian Adult Conference, Dunkirk, N. Y.
Aug. 26-30. Westminster Summer Conference of Ministers, Westminster, Md.
Aug. 26-Sept. 1. Annual Ashram, Lutheran Student Association, Estes Park, Colo.
Aug. 27-31. Youth Temperance Council Encampment, Jackson's Mill Camp, W. Va.
Aug. 27-Sept. 1. Biennial National Conference of Methodist Youth, Winona Lake, Ind.
Aug. 28. Methodist Annual Conference, Boise, Idaho.
Aug. 28-30. Youth Temperance Council Encampment, Indianapolis, Ind.
Aug. 29-Sept. 2. Unitarian Youth and Religious Education Institute, Ardmore, Okla.
Aug. 30-Sept. 1. Methodist Bishops' Annual Retreat, Lake Geneva, Wis.
Aug. 31, Sept. 1. Baptist Laymen's Retreat, Torch Lake, Mich.
Sept. 4. Kentucky Methodist Conference, Wilmore.
Sept. 6-8. Annual Conference, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Lake Chautauqua, N. Y.
Sept. 6-8. Annual Conference, New York Young Friends Fellowship, Lake Minnewasaka.
Sept. 7, 8. Western and Central Western New York Congregational-Christian Laymen's Conference, Rochester, N. Y.
Sept. 8-10. Congregational-Christian Ministers' Convocation, Rochester, N. Y.
Sept. 9-11. Tri-State Christian Pacifist Conference, Lake Geneva, Wis.
Sept. 9-11. Conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion, Jewish Theological Seminary, New York city.
Sept. 10-12. Colorado Disciples Convention, Salida.
Sept. 10-12. Congregational-Christian Conference Planning Meeting, Rochester, N. Y.
Sept. 12-15. New England Disciples Convention, Haverhill, Mass.
Sept. 13-15. Eastern and Central Eastern New York Congregational-Christian Laymen's Conference, Lisle.
Sept. 14, 15. Baptist Laymen's Retreat, Detroit, Mich.
Sept. 16-18. Pennsylvania Disciples Convention, Greensburg.
Sept. 16-19. Michigan Baptist Convention, Alpena.
Sept. 17. Nebraska Methodist Conference, Omaha.
Sept. 18. Southwest Missouri Methodist Conference, Joplin.
Sept. 18-20. Alabama Presbyterian Synod, Sylacauga.
Sept. 24, 25. Annual Interdenominational Women's Missionary Institute, Y. W. C. A., Chicago.

(Announcements will be printed in this calendar as received, but must reach the editorial office at least three weeks in advance of the date mentioned.)

The
CHRISTIAN CENTURY
Undenominational

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EDITORIAL

AMERICAN attention is almost absorbed at the moment by the air attacks on Britain. Such mass bombing raids as are being launched against the channel ports and naval bases may be a prelude to the long threatened, and as long delayed, invasion of England. Or they may be an indication that Hitler has decided to try to conquer Britain from the air. It should not be overlooked, however, that the attack which Italy has finally opened in Africa places the whole empire in grave danger. Having neutralized French Somaliland by the armistice signed by the Petain government, Mussolini is now moving in on British Somaliland. As a glance at the map will show, once he completes that conquest he will be in a position to move against Kenya, Uganda and the Sudan as well as to control the Red sea. The Italian campaign serves to emphasize the dual nature of the war. Off the coast of Europe one of the axis partners is preparing to strike against England, mother of parliaments and symbol of democracy. But along the coast of Africa the other partner is driving against Great Britain, holder of an empire on which the sun never sets. American sympathies are immediately and deeply involved when the mother of parliaments is threatened. But they are by no means so moved by the prospect that one imperialism may be substituted for another in northeast Africa.

Mussolini Strikes for African Empire

American Ships for Refugee Children

BY an unrecorded vote the House of Representatives has passed the Hennings bill which would make American ships available to bring children from the war zones to this country. American opinion will push the Senate to speedy and favorable action. As passed by the House, the bill amends the neutrality law. Anxiety has been expressed in these columns lest further amendments to that law so weaken it as to destroy its protective usefulness. But the Hennings amendments leave intact the provisions covering war trade, which are the essential part of the present law. If the new bill is enacted American ships, unarmed, carrying no cargoes, not convoyed, staffed by American citizens, can be made available to bring children under 16 from any part of the war zones, provided that safe conducts have been granted by all the belligerents. Technically, this offers a promise of refuge quite as much to children from Germany and from the German-occupied regions as from the British isles. Actually, as everyone realizes, the benefits of the new legislation will be confined almost entirely to children from Great Britain. Some risk would undoubtedly remain even if the children were evacuated under the safe conducts required by the Hennings bill. But the bill reduces these as far as human foresight can. Americans who have offered their homes by the multiplied thousands for the welcome of these children will hope that the new plan will make it possible to bring large numbers away before the air terror, now at the ports, covers all parts of Britain.

Must Ministers Become Criminals?

THE FIRST HINT of open defiance of the conscription legislation now being considered in Washington is forecast in a statement issued by Allan Knight Chalmers of New York, Ernest Fremont Tittle of Evanston and 160 other ministers. They publicly affirm their determination "to counsel men in all circumstances to render obedience to conscience and resolutely to do the right as they see it." They are addressing themselves, of course, to that provision in the conscription bill which provides a fine of $10,000 or imprisonment for five years, or both, for anybody who obstructs the working of the act by advising men of draft age to refuse to register or to serve if called. They visualize the not improbable contingency in which a young man who believes war to be a violation of his Christian convictions comes to his spiritual adviser to ask whether he ought to follow his conscience or to bow to the will of the state. If the minister obeys the mandate of his calling, there is only one thing he can do. He must advise such a man to do what he sincerely believes to be right. But under the conscription bill, such advice makes the minister a criminal. Confronting this flat challenge,

these men speak plainly. "We desire to affirm our conviction that no action of government can abrogate or suspend our obligation as Christian ministers to counsel men in all circumstances to render obedience to conscience." These ministers have rendered a service in pointing out how directly and immediately the operation of the law now being considered would interfere with the most elementary duty of the Christian ministry, and not the pacifist ministry only. Martin Niemöller, who is very far from being a pacifist, was sent to prison three years ago in Germany because he dared to preach from the text, "We must obey God rather than men."

Mr. Cudahy Gets Into Trouble

IT would be enlightening to know just what part of Ambassador Cudahy's now famous interview brought down on him the wrath of Mr. Roosevelt and the state department. To be sure, the "recall" which the press says is Mr. Cudahy's punishment is more theoretical than actual. Hitler's troops effectually recalled the ambassador some time ago by occupying Belgium and notifying all governments to withdraw their diplomatic representatives from Brussels; Mr. Cudahy gave his interview in London because he was already on his way home from a post which had disappeared. Nevertheless, the administration has done what it could to punish its former envoy. What was it he said that has caused so much anger? Mr. Cudahy's interview consisted of three parts. In the first and most important part, he warned against the famine which threatens Belgium during the coming winter. Eight million persons in that little country, he declared, face near-starvation. In the second, he admitted that the German troops occupying the country have conducted themselves correctly. In the third, he asserted that when all the facts regarding King Leopold's surrender are known the conduct of the Belgian monarch will be generally approved. Now if Mr. Cudahy was telling the truth—and so far he has not been seriously challenged on that score—why should he not have said these things? If they are so, why should they not be known? The longer one meditates on what has happened to Mr. Cudahy, the more one is inclined to ask: Can it be possible that the governments, including the government of the United States as well as those of the belligerents, do not want the truth about this war to be known?

Uncle Sam—Receiver In Bankruptcy

SHANGHAI, the political earthquake center of the Asiatic coast, last week recorded another seismic quiver which carries plain warning of a coming crash. The British government withdrew the troops which have for years carried major responsibility for the defense of the "International Settlement," leaving its protection principally to the soldiers of Japan and the United States. The command of the entire defense force having fallen, by reason of his higher rank, upon a Japanese vice-admiral, our navy rushed Admiral Hart from Tsingtao to take charge. Thus the United States has been left in the unenviable position of holding the bag, and a questionable bag at that, with a dangerous and heavily armed bandit as our impatient ally. Long dissertations and reports have been written trying to untangle the legal status of Shanghai. It was one of the concessions set aside, as a place where foreigners could live and carry on trade, by the defeated Chinese government after the first Opium War. For nearly a century Chinese authorities have made hardly a pretense of attempting to govern it. Ruled by an independent municipal council of fourteen elected by property holders and dominated by British and Americans, Shanghai is in fact the last of the free cities of world commerce. Twice during the last decade wrecked by weeks of battle between Chinese and Japanese, it is today plainly marked, "City for Sale." The French concession, which lies alongside the International Settlement, has dropped like ripe fruit into the hands of the Japanese in recent weeks since the collapse of France. Do the American people understand that when our Asiatic fleet and our troops become the receiver in bankruptcy of the huge British stake in Shanghai, they are probably being committed to fight Japan?

Why Is Another Home Guard Needed?

WITH the Senate having voted, 71 to 7, to give the President power to call the national guard and army reserve into service for one year, the administration's effort to obtain such authority seems certain to succeed. Nobody appears to know just why the 242,000 men of the guard and the 166,000 men of the reserve have to be called away from their homes and jobs now, but if this bill becomes law go they must to serve in any part of the Western hemisphere or the territories and possessions of the United States, including the Philippines. The Senate recognized the danger in the bill, since it gives the President power to precipitate a state of war in South America or the Far East without waiting for a constitutional declaration of war by Congress. It came within one vote of amending the bill to confine the service of the guard to the continental United States, its territories and possessions—a limitation, incidentally, imposed by the Constitution when it restricts the service of the guard to repelling invasion (Act. I, Sec. 8, Par. 15). But what's the Constitution in these days of Rooseveltian emergency? The President has dismissed with jocular insouciance the fears which brought the Senate so close to adopting the Adams amendment. He has said that the chances are 100 to 1 against his sending the guard to duty overseas. At the same time, however, he has announced a new scheme to mobilize members of the American Legion and other veterans' organizations to take the places of the national guard as a home defense force. Which is very puzzling. For if the present national guard is not to be sent abroad, what need is there for a new force for home defense?

Europe's Specter of Starvation

HERBERT HOOVER states that, unless food is sent from the United States and other neutral nations, 18,000,000 persons will die of starvation in Belgium, the

Netherlands, Norway and Poland during the coming winter. Mr. Hoover is the world's greatest authority on a matter of this kind. As chairman of the European Food Distribution Commission he has just concluded a careful and complete survey of the food outlook on the Continent. His figures are supported and even increased by those of the American Friends Service Committee. There is every reason, therefore, to regard the Hoover prediction as reliable. But will the United States, and the other American nations which are plagued with food surpluses, be allowed to keep these 18,000,000 from starving? During the First World War this country sent to Belgium and the German-occupied regions of northern France more than 5,000,000 tons of supplies. These were distributed by the Hoover organization under an agreement with the German government that no part of the American food and materials would be taken by the Germans. Mr. Hoover has testified to the good faith with which that agreement was observed. Now he proposes a similar agreement to keep alive civilians in the occupied areas over the coming winter. As he points out, no charity is involved; the governments of the countries threatened with famine have enough money to buy food, provided that the British and German authorities can be persuaded to let it pass. Up to the present, both belligerents have refused to assume any responsibility, and the efforts of Mr. Hoover to get a civilian feeding program under way are stalled. The reasons given, in both London and Berlin, are familiar to all newspaper readers. But the common man will ask why, if it was possible to arrange to feed the Belgians during the German occupation twenty-five years ago, it is not possible to do so again.

What Price Catholic Support?

CATHOLIC support for the American Negro Exposition, which is in progress at the Coliseum in Chicago, is an important factor in its well deserved success. Recently Archbishop Samuel A. Stritch of Chicago sponsored a Catholic week at the exposition and addressed some 7,000 people in the main portion of the great hall. His speech suggests a valid reason why the Catholic Church is gaining in influence among American Negroes. He said, "When [Popes] Leo and Pius speak of the right of workers to organize, the right of workers to a living wage; when they say that 'their necessities' and 'reasonable comforts should be satisfied' and that through this satisfaction not only will their 'standard of life' be bettered but likewise it will prove of 'singular help to virtue,' these words are not restricted to any race. . . . Every encyclical pertaining to the social, industrial and economic order is universal in scope. If you are a creature of God, it applies to you." Unfortunately, some actions of the Catholic Church during the Negro Exposition do not carry as much promise either for Negroes or for whites as do the archbishop's words. There was the episode which occurred at the very beginning of the exposition when Catholic action brought about the closure of an educational exhibit which advocated birth control. More recently Catholics prepared for Catholic week at the Coliseum by bringing about the removal of a banner displaying some information on the Baptist churches. It is probably fortunate that we are not permitted for long to enjoy the illusion that, with all its good, the Catholic Church really knows the meaning either of tolerance or of religious liberty. Yet the archbishop said, "Only in the Catholic Church will you find a path that will lead to nobler achievements. Do not put your thoughts in men who would lead you back to slavery."

No Democracy for India

THE WHITE MAN'S BURDEN is turning into a burden in ways never dreamed by Kipling. Three of the great colonial powers have recently collapsed in war, yet no native population has lifted a finger in behalf of their lords and masters. Now Britain the mighty stands with her back against the wall. The empire on which the sun never sets is involved in a crisis unequaled since Napoleon and possibly since Frobisher and Drake confronted the bellowing sails of the Spanish Armada in 1588. And India, whose 350,000,000 might yet turn defeat into victory, continues to withhold her assistance.

An accurate measure of Britain's profound sense of isolation and need for help may be seen in her revival of proposals by which she hopes to secure cooperation from India in the war. Yet even against this dark background of crisis the tenacity with which she clings to empire stands out clearly. Despite the desperate situation in which she finds herself, Britain refuses to accede to the conditions on which the Indian National Congress has said that Indian nationalists will lend their aid, namely, the convocation of a constituent assembly democratically elected by the people and empowered to draw up a constitution which will immediately go into effect as the charter of a free India. Instead, the proposal announced with such fanfare to Parliament simply reaffirms Britain's willingness, first indicated last October, to grant dominion status, fixes for the first time the date as "after the conclusion of the war, with the least possible delay," and agrees that the constitution of the new dominion shall be drawn up by "a body representative of the principal elements in India's national life."

Already there are clear evidences that this proposal will not be satisfactory either to the Indian National Congress, which speaks for at least two-thirds of all Indians, or to liberal and labor opinion in Great Britain. The only Indians who have given it public support are the leader of the minuscule Liberal party, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, and B. R. Ambedkar, the Bombay lawyer and provincial legislative assemblyman who once spoke for the "untouchables." But now Gandhi has brought the depressed classes back into the Congress fold by his program for the elimination of their civic and religious disabilities and Ambedkar is a leader without a constituency. The president of the powerful National Congress, M. A. K. Azad, the leader of the Muslim League, M. A. Jinnah, and Gandhi all refuse to comment pending conversations with Lord Linlithgow, the viceroy. But in the meantime the Indian press which speaks for the Congress has condemned the new overtures as "disappointing" and "not at all adequate," the laborite *Daily Herald* of London is pessimistic

unless the proposals "are not the final word" and the *New Statesman and Nation,* England's leading weekly journal of opinion, complains that they are "seriously inadequate. . . . We cannot wage a war of liberation in Europe if a rebel India hangs about our necks."

The heart of the difficulty is that the great majority in India is committed to complete and immediate freedom and this new offer does not go beyond a future dominion status within the empire. As prospects for freedom from Britain brighten, it is increasingly unlikely that the Indian National Congress will sacrifice that for which they have waited so long, even though the perils of liberty have multiplied. Indian distrust of British intentions increases the likelihood that the new overture will be rejected. When nationalist Indians are told that the new status will come "after the war," they recall that during the First World War there was also a promise of post-war self-government. They remember that in the Montagu-Chelmsford report of 1918 this promise thinned out until self-government was reduced to restricted and relatively unimportant areas of local administration. They have not forgotten that in 1919 it flowered, not in freedom, but in the Rowlatt or "Black Cobra" bill which suspended civil rights and established martial law in many communities. The memory of Amritsar, where 400 Indians were killed and 1,000 wounded by the machine guns of General Dyer, still lives.

Another trouble-making uncertainty is the vagueness in the new proposal concerning the intentions of the "paramount power" as to its plan for setting up the assembly which will draw up the constitution for the proposed dominion. Even the pro-British *New York Times* quickly deplored Britain's ambiguity on this vital point. It is here that the ugly minorities question raises its persistent head. The viceroy's recent statement insists that "full weight" must be given to minority views and says that there can be no transfer of authority "to any system of government whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life." What this would seem to mean is that all the apparent promises of freedom may be junked after the war if the puppet princes who rule the native states and that uncertain portion of the Mohammedan population of 70,000,000 who support the erratic Muslim League declare in favor of continued British rule.

Since the Indian demand for complete freedom is answered by this drastically hedged offer of dominion status, since the demand for immediate action is countered by postponement to "as soon as possible after the war" and since the demand for a democratic election of the constitution-making body is being met by insistence on retention of veto powers by the minorities, this new proposal leaves the situation about where it was. To India, it must seem that democratic Britain is still content to offer the shadow and deny the substance of liberty.

Britain's difficulties in the eastern Mediterranean and in Africa may produce further offers if time permits. When India's contribution to empire defense in the First World War is recalled, it can be seen that a similar contribution now might actually prove decisive. During that struggle India sent 1,250,000 troops abroad, assumed over £100,000,000 of the debts created, vastly increased the empire's armament and food resources. Indian soldiers saw service in France, Egypt, east Africa, Gallipoli and Mesopotamia. India was the sole source of supply for the war in east Africa and the Near East, in which over 1,500 miles of railway were built, 250 engines and 4,500 vehicles used, and thousands of tons of food, clothing and munitions consumed.

Today Britain maintains that she is fighting to liberate Europe and to save democracy. What could she do that would more effectively establish the integrity of this purpose than to liberate India and to give that country the opportunity to use democracy in setting up the form of her own government? It may just be possible that as with men, so with nations: he that loses his life shall save it. It is conceivable that the help which a free India would give might yet save Britain. Even if it failed to do so, such an action would be a magnificent validation of democracy, the only principle by which man in the long reaches of history can so order his affairs on this earth as to be saved from war, slavery and widening chaos.

The Attack on Lindbergh

CONSIDERED by itself alone, the vicious attack which has been loosed against Colonel Lindbergh might be dismissed as simply another illustration of the tendency of political debate to descend to scurrility. But considered as one more indication of the swiftness and determination with which powerful elements are driving the nation along the road to war, the attack takes on great importance. Colonel Lindbergh has come out unequivocally against American entrance into the war under any circumstances. He has spoken with equal clarity against American indulgence in acts "short of war" which might lead to war. It was to be expected that his views, given national prominence, would be opposed in interventionist circles. But the attack launched against Lindbergh has gone far beyond the ordinary canons of debate. It has pulsed with venom. If this man who was once the nation's shining hero had been proved another Benedict Arnold he could not have been subjected to more defamation and calumny.

After Lindbergh had spoken at a "Keep out of war" rally in Chicago early this month the flood of intemperate abuse rose to new and shameful heights. It poured through the press in a raging torrent of insult. Some newspapers virtually accused Lindbergh of cowardice. A paper with such a once proud journalistic tradition as the *Chicago Daily News* (now owned by the secretary of the navy) dared say that "the lone eagle," in making his peace speech, "sounded like a tropical bird with green feathers Göbbeling of *Lebensraum.*" The *Louisville Courier-Journal,* another famous name in American journalism, asserted that he "soiled the air with folly." But it remained for the editor and publisher of New York's newest daily, *PM,* to plumb the depths. He took over the entire front page of his paper for a signed editorial which began, "I say very simply that Colonel Lindbergh in his speech in Chicago Sunday identified himself as Spokesman No. 1 for the fifth column," and which closed, "I denounce Colonel

Charles A. Lindbergh as the spokesman of the fascist fifth column in America."

The administration, likewise, has gone to unprecedented lengths to heap scorn and reviling on this distinguished American citizen who has done no more than exercise his constitutional right to discuss national policy. After every speech a United States senator has been assigned to reply. After Lindbergh's first speech, Senator Pittman replied. After the second, Senator Byrnes. After the Chicago speech, Senator Lucas. It has been noticeable that none of these administration spokesmen have attempted to deal with Lindbergh's arguments on their merits. For the most part, they have relied on mud-slinging and name-calling. Even Senator Lucas, who came nearest of the three to attempting a reasoned answer, rested his appeal to the public to ignore Lindbergh on the claim that he is nothing but an aviator who "has blossomed overnight into an oracle who instructs the world and his country on such momentous problems as war, statesmanship and diplomacy."

In one sense, there is an implied compliment in this senatorial attack. It shows how much the administration fears Lindbergh's influence on public opinion. It marks him as America's war enemy No. 1. Nevertheless, the venomous spirit in which most of these senatorial champions of administration policy have spoken shows with what vindictiveness that policy is being pushed forward and how great is the readiness at Washington to resort to any means, however despicable, to sweep aside every person who opposes this course which is steadily tending toward involvement in war.

What has Lindbergh been saying to rouse all this rage? Many things which he has said deserve long consideration and thorough debate. With some of his views—as, for instance, those on preparation for a coming race conflict which he expressed last year in a magazine article—this paper disagrees profoundly. With others—for example, those concerning future relations with Canada—we find ourselves in need of more time for study and reflection. But in the main argument which he has consistently been placing before the American people in all his broadcasts there has been nothing to justify defamation. The points which he has made have come down to these four: (1) That Europe's war is being fought for stakes which are mainly European; (2) that America has a set of primary interests which are American; (3) that the United States should and can arm sufficiently to defend her own interests; (4) that we should keep out of Europe's war, at any cost and under any circumstances.

It is now charged, on the basis of his Chicago speech, that Lindbergh advocates "appeasing" Hitler. A reading of the speech will show that he has done nothing of the sort. He has recognized that, whatever the outcome of the war, there will be two centers of Western civilization, one in Europe and one here. If the center in Europe turns out to be German, he suggests that the current theory of an inevitable war—which certain interests are pressing for reasons of their own—is not at all sure to be proved correct. Instead, he asserts, a sufficiently armed United States will automatically inhibit a victorious Hitler and then, when its strength has been made clear, can find a basis for commercial and political intercourse advantageous to both continents. Lindbergh is in no sense a pacifist or an appeaser. He simply believes that, with a sufficient armed guard against invasion of American interests in this hemisphere, the United States can find a basis on which to live without war with any European victor, whoever that victor may turn out to be.

One may not agree with this argument, but what possible reason is there to go into tantrums because it is made? If Lindbergh is wrong, is there not all the more reason for restraint and calm reasoning to show where and why? To resort, instead, to billingsgate, to call him the spokesman for a fascist fifth column and a parrot for Göbbels, is to raise the suspicion that a reasoned and convincing reply may be hard to make. Such verbal violence suggests an effort to deflect attention from realities which have an important bearing on American policy but which cannot bear the searching diagnosis of free discussion.

When one attempts to discover reasons why this storm of scurrilous abuse should have been loosed against Lindbergh, they are not difficult to find. The administration is committed to supplying all aid short of war to Great Britain, and knows that this policy involves the peril of provoking a declaration of war from Germany. It dare not debate this peril openly and candidly. Hence, its only recourse in attempting to defend itself against Lindbergh's open and candid criticism of its policy is to throw dust in the air by attacking his character, motives and capacity. But the rancor with which part of the press pursues Lindbergh goes deeper. It is nothing less than an effort to besmirch a man who, however unintentionally, has revealed to the American people the most unlovely aspects of American journalism.

The story of Lindbergh's relations with the American press is too long to be recounted again here. Most of our readers will remember the indecency of the treatment accorded Colonel and Mrs. Lindbergh at the time of their marriage, the way in which the press turned the Hauptmann trial into a hippodrome, and the manner in which even after the first tragedy the sensational press persisted in trying to invade the privacy of the Lindbergh home in order to photograph the second child in that stricken family. When the Lindberghs at last, in desperation, left the country, the American people set it down as another black mark against the practices and standards of the press. As long as the Lindberghs remained in exile they were, whether they realized it or not, a silent but powerful moral condemnation of American journalism. Today a part of that journalism is attempting to take its revenge. Not consciously, perhaps, but nonetheless bitterly.

It is not likely that this attack, however low into the gutter it may go in its search for weapons, will frighten Lindbergh or drive him into silence. To a considerable extent, he has declared that he was ready for it. After all, he remembers the experience of his father, and the price which he paid for opposing entrance into the First World War on the floor of Congress. Nevertheless, the savagery of this attack shows to what lengths the forces which are pushing this country toward war are ready to go. Today an American once heaped with honors who stands squarely against entrance into the war is spit upon as a coward, a fool, a leader of a fascist fifth column and a parrot for Göbbels. What shall we expect tomorrow?

That Treasure Island

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Do you still love stories of adventurers who set sail for an island (lat. *x*, long. *y*) in which on infallible evidence they expect to find Spanish gold buried centuries ago? They had found the map—one of those glorious maps which make up by their charm for their lack of precise detail. It was, of course, among some manuscripts in a long-hidden trunk, and with it were the precise notes of the sailor or pirate who hid the treasures.

I can still read such stories with breathless interest but without the implicit faith which I once had. I sometimes wonder what it is in us that answers to the legends of hidden treasure. Why do men seek, as Raleigh and his men sought, for the City of Burnished Gold to which the Orinoco was the mysterious way?

But I am afraid the spell has been broken in these days. If, for example, you were to find such a map in an old volume, and you planned a secret expedition and invited one to join the Gallant Company of Gentlemen Adventurers, should I come? I think not. I should give you my blessing, and await your return, but without much hope of seeing those Spanish doubloons. For me, Treasure Island lives only in the realm of romance, and the horns of faeryland have ceased to blow.

The explorers have done their work too well. There are few spaces on the map which bear the words *terra incognita,* and it was the unknown which could always be made the home of mystery and wonder. Science killed the hope of the dreamers who set out to make gold, and the travelers have robbed us of those islands in which in one fortunate moment we could become rich and mighty. But would it be fortunate?

I shall not see any treasure island. But I wonder if we men have had the dreams and legends and romances only to outgrow them. Is it not more probable that they bear witness to something that is true about the scheme of things in which our earthly life is cast? Are there not in this earth, as science reveals it to us, some things which fulfill the legend of the Golden Fleece or the dream of the City of Gold? And was not the discovery of radium as wonderful as any hope which lured the alchemist? So I comfort myself when I read of treasure islands by the thought that they were prophecies and myths which have been fulfilled and are still to be fulfilled.

But why do we want such treasures? You will remember the story in which J. B. Priestley tells of travelers who found an island with immense stores of pitch-blende in which radium is found; and how these travelers, suddenly faced by the problem as to how they should use this discovery, made different answers according to their character. One man, for example, thought only of the enrichment it might bring to his own nation. Another saw the radium as a mystic servant which would bring deliverance to all the families of mankind. I imagine that this desire for a treasure island can be at the one end of the scale simply an expression of individual greed or a cry for compensation and at the other end a prophecy of the love which seeketh not its own. You remember how the Curies, when they discovered radium, definitely rejected the temptation to make money, sorely as they needed it, out of their treasure. If we were like that we might be trusted with treasure islands.

I sometimes wonder if the dream that somewhere there must be an El Dorado may not be also a primitive and crude prophecy of the city which eager hearts expect. Some of my friends tell me that this is not so; the blessed city, the New Jerusalem, they assure me, has no more and no less reality than El Dorado, and must pass away in time, like that other dream of our childhood. The choice between these positions must depend upon another choice, and upon that my mind was made up long ago; and if they announce, as I hope they will, when I next go to church, "Jerusalem the Golden," I shall sing it without faltering:

> O sweet and blessed country
> That eager hearts expect.

Ever yours,
QUINTUS QUIZ.

VERSE

'Death Has Enough'

DEATH is replete today with overyield
Too easy won; gorged, his omnivorous lust;
Distastefully he sniffs the battlefield,
And sorts the muddled leavings in disgust.

MARY FERGUSON LEGLER.

Condemnation

WE speak of Light descending as a dove
Upon the tortured ignorance of those
Who knew this condemnation—that they chose
The way of darkness, being warned thereof.
Surely the Light that shone then, wide above
Those lifted hands, shines now, and still bestows
Its promised freedom to the heart that knows
The bright day and the open way of love.

"But men chose darkness," thus the Scriptures run,
"Because their deeds were evil." Is this night
Of our own choosing? Do we fear the Light?
What are the evil things that we have done,
That we must tap a stick upon a stone,
And move like blind men, fearful and alone?

SARA KING CARLETON.

Our Way of Life

PRETEND it is not a pretense;
Pretend it is real.
Compare prices, finger materials,
Watch clocks, measure salt exactly.
Insist upon the urgency
Of the unimportant pattern of day-by-day.
Forget that it is only a legend
Painted on a paper screen
Behind which rises the hurricane.

EDITH LOVEJOY PIERCE.

America and the War

By Dwight J. Bradley and Albert W. Palmer

After President Palmer's article "A Road Away from War" appeared in our issue of June 19, his old friend Dwight J. Bradley, head of the Congregational Council for Social Action, addressed to him twenty-three friendly but searching questions. Dr. Palmer answered in like spirit, endeavoring the difficult feat of keeping his replies down to the same length as the questions. Hearing about the exchange, we secured permission to publish it. We regret that we have space for only about half of the questions and answers.—The Editors.

QUESTION: To what obvious evidences can you point to prove that "not even Germany" can gain by the continuation of the war? Germany has concluded an almost complete conquest of Europe. Is not this to be reckoned, in the ordinary terms of *Realpolitik,* a very large gain? What are the criteria of actual gain you would apply to a nation or empire? Did the U.S.A. gain from the successful consummation of its long series of wars? If you believe not, are you able to adduce evidence to that effect which would pass muster in a class, let us say, in governmental history or economics or sociology?

ANSWER: Must we not distinguish between immediate external victories and ultimate stable gains? Napoleon also conquered Europe. In the end what were the French gains and losses? Are not true gains to be measured by the welfare of the populations involved, the freedom from hatreds, antagonisms and future wars? Which United States war would you defend? The Revolution? But what about Canada which profited by the influx of our tory refugees and achieved as great liberty without war as we did by it? The war of 1812? The peace treaty that concluded it ignored its alleged causes. The Civil War? Might not the Negro have been better off if he had not been fought about? Go see "Gone With the Wind"! The Spanish War? Hush! The World War? Consider the secret treaties and Versailles! How much good did we really do by going in?

Is Bankruptcy Coming?

QUESTION: How may one know that the end of this war will be a bankrupt world? Bankrupt in what respects? What, indeed, is bankruptcy? Political? Economic? Mercantile? Ethical? Are you certain that the triumph of the new-type technocratic totalitarian systems will result in chaos and revolution? Does not the triumph of these systems constitute in itself a revolution? You yourself offer a chart of what you call revolution. In what way will the revolution you propose differ from the revolution you declare must follow the continuation of the war?

ANSWER: Bankrupt financially. We are wasting the savings of generations. Taxes and inflation will soon tell you. Bankrupt of good will because of reactions of hatred and distrust stimulated to passionate intensity by war sufferings and twisted by propaganda. As to revolution, I want to see it come as evolution by debate, reason, persuasion and not by military coercion. Communism, fascism and revolutionary violence break out where there is distress, confusion, disillusionment. The reaction after a war is their breeding ground. Communism came in defeated Russia, fascism in victorious Italy, nazism in discouraged and disillusioned Germany. The longer and bitterer the war, the more violent the reaction.

A 'Guided' Revolution

QUESTION: Is it not possible that the world is now passing through a *fundamentally* revolutionary era, in which the customary or recently prevailing concepts and practices of political economy are being drastically altered or eliminated? In such a case, are not your "revolutionary" proposals lacking in revolutionary force, and are they not merely a kind of wistful fling-back to an era which has already been destroyed? Could, for example, the rising capitalistic order of the late eighteenth century have been prevented by any amount of state or church effort to rehabilitate or re-create the feudal order on a more ideal basis? Was not this attempted by both church and state without success? Are not your proposals similar in meaning to those made in a time of decaying feudalism for reforming and re-creating the feudal order, and thus for impeding the growth of capitalism after the French Revolution?

ANSWER: Yes, but one must not be a helpless fatalist in the face of a revolution. Revolutions can be guided and even absorbed. The same revolutionary impulses eventuated differently in England and France, partly because of the Wesleyan movement. The basic revolutionary idea of our age is world economic unity. It is blocked by political diversity. Political diversity can be removed by conquest. But conquest has terrible reactions. It would be better to adjust to the necessity for world economic unity by mutual concessions and some degree of federation. We who seek peace ought to promote those ideas as substitutes for war.

QUESTION: Is it furthermore fair to buttress an argument by such an appeal to unthinking idealism as is found in paragraph 3 of your article? Ought not a person to refrain from appeals to idealism until or unless such appeals carry with them some specific promise of certitude? Otherwise, does not idealism inevitably fray out into disillusionment as the result of unsubstantial hope? Your own idealism about the last war, which as I well recall was very great and exhilarated, frayed out in precisely such a fashion. Are you now justified once again in leading people forth on another chase after what, to sober judgment, may well seem to be a chimera?

ANSWER: But is it unthinking idealism to suggest that a definite and fair proposal for a better world order be put up to Hitler? Has it ever been done? President Roosevelt came near it once but spoiled it all by moralistic scolding. The British government has never come out with

any definite comprehensive proposals though urged to do so by individual Englishmen like Dean Inge, Professor Joad and others. When at an international meeting last summer I broached a proposal for such a conference, the German delegates said that, if presented in that spirit, they thought it might succeed. As to the last war: it was the war that frayed out as I discovered its realities, not my ideals.

QUESTION: Granting your correctness of ethical judgment in dissociating yourself from this war, is there the slightest possibility that you, a man of 60, would be called upon in case this country were involved in war, to "shoot, stab, drown or betray any other human being"? You were closely associated, 20 years ago at the age of 40, with the last war. Were you during its course called upon to "shoot, stab, drown or betray any other human being"? I think not. Why then declare your unwillingness to do a thing which you are so unlikely ever to be called upon to do in actuality?

ANSWER: The conscription bill, when introduced in Congress, did include all men from 18 to 65 and I am under 65! But may I not protest vicariously in behalf of youth who will be taught and required to "shoot, stab, drown or betray other human beings"? I refuse to take refuge behind my age and say, "This won't affect me." My heart marches with the boys who are affected. Where they have to go, there go I, in spirit.

Practicability and Ideals

QUESTION: Do you think that the mind of Christ would split hairs about minimum or maximum degrees of violence? Does Christ trifle with such moralistic measuring rods as those of social expediency? But does not the sinfulness of man make it necessary for him, until and unless the mind of Christ dominates his natural mind, to accommodate himself to situations and to strive, sinfully if need be, to realize some small temporal gains from his rather pathetic efforts to improve his lot on earth? Is not this the nub of biblical teaching? Is not therefore the criterion of all merely human striving the practicability of the measures that are taken?

ANSWER: What kind of theology is this? Do you mean that naturally man is wholly bad and can do nothing good until Christ dominates his natural mind? So to believe is utterly unrealistic. Some who never heard of Christ are tremendously good. Socrates and Confucius for example, and many humble souls besides. Goodness is ever struggling within the human breast and my theology is that all goodness and Christ are in alliance. Men accept Christ because there is already something Christlike within them. When I said, "Evil can never be overcome by another evil but only by good, good will, right reason and a minimum of violence and coercion," I was trying to state a universal principle of sound psychology and morals. The "minimum of violence and coercion" referred only to necessary police restraint, benevolent in purpose and under judicial control, not to military ruthlessness. It is not a concession to man's sinfulness but a constructive element in social good will. Surely you wouldn't separate life into two compartments, (1) the evil, selfish, practical and secular to which we must surrender, and (2) the good and Christlike which is however impractical and cannot really be made a way of life.

Roosevelt and Peace

QUESTION: Do you believe that your five proposals for United States national foreign policy are practicable under present world conditions?

1. Is not the standing offer of disarmament that you recommend clearly and specifically recorded in the state papers of Mr. Roosevelt's administration? If so, why imply that such is not the case? And what specifically is an "obviously defensive basis" of armament for this country? Are you prepared to set forth categorically what you regard as "obvious"? If not, ought you to employ such a term?

2. Is there the slightest possibility of "genuine, honest neutrality"? Would refusal to ship munitions to the Allies have been "neutral"? Is an act neutral which does harm to one or another of the belligerents? Or is neutrality, according to your definition, a strictly legalistic thing? Shall motive or intention have place in judgments of Christians as to such matters as neutrality or shall Christians fall back on the purely legalistic definition?

ANSWER: 1. Unfortunately the Roosevelt administration has to be judged not only by its state papers but by its animus and its actions. An obviously defensive basis would be the type of armament program that is clearly intended not to invade other countries but only to make invasion of this country difficult and unattractive. But disarmament is not only military. We should stop economic warfare too and constantly offer economic cooperation.

2. Neutrality is of course hard to define. But would not Christian neutrality represent an honest effort not to become involved with either side? It would be not merely legalistic. Neither would it evade or change laws adopted before the war in order to favor some one side. It would seek to discourage warfare and to help all military activities as little as possible. It would seek every opportunity to mediate between opponents and so to behave that in the end its mediation would be accepted as fair, sincere and trustworthy.

British War Aims

QUESTION: Has not Britain already and repeatedly stated its war aim; namely, to destroy the power of Hitler and to maintain the British system? Why ask for more? Must not the U.S.A. decide whether and how far to help maintain the British system, or to let it fall and permit the nazi system to gain complete victory? Is not the issue simply that between the traditional British system from which the system of the U.S.A. received its major impulse and form, and a new-type system of which Germany and Japan, and probably also Russia, are the chief imperialistic exponents? Is it not therefore the business of American foreign policy to determine which outcome seems most to its interest, and if possible to the interest of the world, and to counsel national action in accordance with such a determination?

ANSWER: Now who is trying to unscramble the omelet? I thought you recognized that we are in an era of

world revolution and probably can never go back to the old status quo, not even the British empire status quo. Maintaining the British system is decidedly not a sufficient goal. It has brought us into the present terrible situation. What the world needs is not another Versailles but an honest-to-goodness world conference with everybody in on the ground floor. Short of that, the prospect is only for unstable balances of power and imperialistic wars. Before America moves one more step toward war, we should know what the definite objectives of this war are, what secret treaties there are and what kind of world order is really being sought.

Justice and Survival Value

QUESTION: What, explicitly, are your proposals for solving the "social and economic" problems and maintaining civil liberties in the U.S.A. under present conditions? Is it a token of sound leadership to demand these things without taking into full consideration the great complexity and difficulty of the hour and without clearly indicating the processes by which these things may be attained and secured?

ANSWER: My proposals for solving the social and economic problems, maintaining civil liberty, etc., in the U.S.A. are largely those of the Council for Social Action and other progressive agencies and leaders. Are you proposing to abandon the struggle for social betterment? If war comes will we be better or worse able to endure it in proportion to the extent that we have achieved greater social justice within our own nation? What happened to the south after the Civil War and to France after 1870? Do not military debacles reveal clearly the essential subsurface social, economic and cultural strengths and weaknesses of a people? I did not mean in any way to minimize the "complexity and difficulty of the hour." I only called for wholehearted devotion toward solving the problems of social and economic justice as the best way of giving the nation solidarity and survival value. Doesn't the Council for Social Action stand for that?

QUESTION: If the editor of *Fortune,* Mr. Davenport, was referring, in his article which you mention, to a lack of absolutism in the preaching of the churches in the last war, is he not in error? As I recall it, there were few ministers who did not preach the moral absolutism of participation in that last war. Was the moral absolutism that preached participation and identification in the last war a good thing or an evil? If good, why abandon it? If evil, why not apply the verdict to the present situation? Is it not an evil no less reprehensible to absolutize non-participation in this war than to have absolutized participation in the former one? Is not the tendency to absolutize human moral judgments an expression of what a Christian must needs hold to be of all sins chief; namely, the sin of ethical pride or pharisaism?

ANSWER: I think a man must be absolutely humble about his absolutes but absolutely loyal to them also. He must not let the fear that people will accuse him of moral pride or pharisaism paralyze his necessity for moral decisions. I judge no other man, but for me good will and concern for human life are absolutes. As I understand Christ my loyalty to him demands invincible and unchangeable good will toward other human beings and complete loyalty to the things that build up human life. That is for me a Christian absolute. I was misled into supporting the last war thinking I could do so within the framework of that absolute. I know better now! I know from experience that war demands falsehood, hatred, treachery. I therefore renounce it. I pray to be delivered from any censorious ethical pride or moral pharisaism but I shall try to touch the consciences of men on this point until the government forces me to wait for the dawn which I believe God will surely bring at last. Meanwhile I must also use my best judgment in supporting policies and persons most likely to keep my country out of war.

Whose Standard of Living?

By Milton F. Wells

THE AMERICAN standard of living is one of the favorite election-year phrases of our politicians. Its defense is held to be a principal reason for a two-ocean navy. As a preparation for the hot winds of political oratory which will soon sweep across this land, let us take a dip into the cool pool of truth about this matter of immediate concern to us all.

Before we can get off the diving board we shall have to listen to the unctious radio voice of W. J. Cameron of the Ford Motor company, giving to American youth his version of their unlimited opportunity to achieve an "American standard of living." He is saying: "We live in a country that has only 6 per cent of the world's population and 71 per cent of the world's automobiles . . . 52 per cent of the world's telephones . . . 44 per cent of the world's radios . . . 30 per cent of the world's railroads . . . and double the life insurance of the rest of the world. More children in the schools, more homes owned by families, more college opportunities than anywhere else."

Basing their opinions upon similar statistics, other industrialists and business men have been advertising a theoretical "American standard of living" ever since the period of so-called prosperity which followed the First World War. Bruce Barton, writer and advertising executive, now congressman from New York, said in 1935: "I believed we had raised (1925-29) the average standard of living in this country to a higher point than had ever been attained by any other people in the history of the world." Yet in the same year William Hard, political observer and radio commentator, wrote: "In the year 1929, 16,000,000 families—60 per cent of all Americans—got less per family

than $2,000 worth of commodities and services. From the point of view of a millennium, it was an economic scandal."

By 1934 our unemployed and their families could have populated all the large cities of the United States. The situation is little better today. Ten million five hundred thousand workers still roam about looking for employment and another 4,500,000 are on government subsistence payrolls. Together with about 5,000,000 students looking for work, these people constitute a perpetual threat to those now holding jobs enabling them to live in a manner approaching what might be called an "American standard," because an abundance of unemployed labor lowers wages.

Less Than $1000 a Year

In 1936, according to the report of the National Resources Committee on Consumer Incomes in the United States, 12,000,000 families, or 41 out of every 100, received less than $1,000 from all sources—wages and salaries, dividends and interest, profits, WPA wages and relief—including an estimate of the value of food grown on farms and the rental value of homes which people own. Eleven million families, or 38 out of 100, received between $1,000 and $2,000; over half of these less than $1,500. About 79 per cent of all families received less than $2,000 in that year.

For practical reasons we must eliminate the family at or below the $1,000 level from all hope of attaining an ideal standard of living. On this income "emergency diets" are an everyday affair, housing is of the poorest quality, automobiles and telephones are out of the question, clothes are scant and shoddy, and money expended for health, insurance and recreation is utterly inadequate.

Just what then is this "American standard of living"? If it is the American economic level as contrasted to the European level, it means merely that our poor may be a little better off than theirs. If it means a high general standard of living commensurate with abundant economic resources, we must seriously question whether it exists. If the standard of living of the average family is high, the families receiving a medium income should be able to buy a good proportion of the automobiles, telephones, radios, life insurance, and education and travel facilities of the nation. But when we eliminate families with incomes below $1,000, we shut out 42 families of every 100 at the beginning. This boasted standard of living thus means little or nothing to nearly half our people.

On a $1500 Budget

We shall consider the next highest income bracket as the median. What does it mean to them? The median family income at the $1,000 to $2,000 level is about $1,500. A budget of this amount would allow little more than the "minimum diet," consisting predominantly of canned instead of fresh vegetables, an insufficiency of fresh milk and fruit juices essential to growing children, and the cheapest cuts of meat. Somewhere in our large cities the family must find living quarters at $20 to $25 a month. Such a house or flat will be substandard in both location and condition. If higher rent is paid, something on the budget must suffer. The telephone and automobile, much vaunted symbols of American prosperity, are out of the question. Heating costs must be kept low. There is little left for furniture and replacement. Insurance must be held to a minimum. Savings are virtually non-existent.

It can hardly be maintained that existing on $1,500 a year is living on the "American standard." In spite of the vast resources of the nation, three-quarters of its 29,400,300 families exist at or below the dietary level for this income, about $9.80 a week. Robert F. Wagner, in a speech before the Senate on March 31, 1937, said: "We believe that every advance in science and technology should be translated not into swollen private fortunes, but into greater leisure and comfort for all society. We believe that America has the material means and human energy to lift poverty from 10,000,000 American homes." Granted, but how much progress is being made in that direction?

Where Does Comfort Come In?

The "American standard" is thought of, no doubt subconsciously, as the fulfillment of a "comfort" standard of living. This would mean the ability to buy food of simple but wholesome quality, and to supply occasional meals out for the whole family. Clothing would be provided of quantity and quality commensurate with the presentation of a neat appearance at all times. The home would have at least three bedrooms and an adequate sum would be apportioned to its upkeep. Savings would be at a minimum of 10 per cent and protection of health and insurance against contingencies would be provided for all the family. Allowance would be made for the purchase and maintenance of an automobile. In addition to these necessities, there would be ample provision for education, books, music, theater, travel, religious and welfare contributions and the entertainment of friends.

What is the yearly income at which these things can be obtained today and how many have it? A recent poll by *Fortune* magazine brought forth various sums, suggested by persons "in all walks of life." The highest sum advanced was $40 weekly, or $2,080 a year. Only 4,000,000 families, or 14 out of every 100, received between $2,000 and $5,000 in 1936. A budget based on how that amount was actually spent at the $2,000 level follows:

	%	Year	Week
Food	34	$680	$13.10
Clothing	10	200	3.85
Housing (including heat, light, etc.)	30	600	11.55
Automobile (including other transportation)	8	160	3.10
Recreation	3	60	1.15
Health	5	100	1.90
Gifts (including direct taxes)	3	60	1.15
Insurance	5	100	1.90
Miscellaneous	2	40	.75
	100%	$2,000	$38.45

It will be seen that an income of $2,000 increases the food allowance into the "satisfactory" class, inhabited by less than one-quarter of all American families. The clothing budget provides for slightly better quality, but quan-

tity would be about the same as at the $1,500 level. Savings outside of insurance are still non-existent. The family operates a second-hand car or none at all, and money for books, music, theater, travel and entertainment must come out of the 8 per cent allotted to recreation, gifts and miscellaneous.

As even $2,000 a year does not seem to provide for an exemplary "American standard of living," let us budget the income of an actual metropolitan worker earning a salary of $3,000. He is married, and the couple has two growing children: the average American family. He is living in suburban Philadelphia in a comfortable six-room house, which he is buying on a sixteen-year plan. He owns an automobile and has a telephone in his home. He tries to save at least 10 per cent of his income and is moderately insured.

	%	*Year*	*Week*
Food	27	$810	$15.58
Clothing	9	270	5.15
Housing	15	450	8.65
House operation	12	360	6.95
Insurance and savings (including wage tax of $45)	15	450	8.65
Automobile	5	150	2.90
Health	5	150	2.90
Education	4	120	2.30
Recreation	3	90	1.74
Gifts, etc.	3	90	1.74
Miscellaneous	2	60	1.14
	100%	$3,000	$57.70

Plain food of good quality cannot be purchased in any metropolitan area for less than the amount allowed. The clothing budget allows 2.5 per cent for the husband, 3 per cent for the wife and 3.5 per cent for the children. If the man buys one suit a year at $30 and two pairs of shoes at $5, he has $35 a year left for socks, shirts, underwear, ties, pressing, cleaning and repairing. In addition he must save toward topcoat and overcoat, which he can purchase only once in several years. The wife has a similar problem with hats, dresses, shoes and the large modern item of silk stockings. Rapidly growing children will need every bit of their $105 clothing allotment for the year.

Housing costs budgeted at 15 per cent, whether buying or renting, are conservative. If a worker is purchasing a house at $3,500 or over, he must set aside at least $35 per month, including taxes, to pay for it over sixteen years or more. Much of the allowance for savings in practice goes for extra luxuries and unforeseen expenses.

What About a Car?

Automobile expense of $150 a year can cover gasoline, garage and repairs only. There is no provision for the purchase of a car. In the thousands of cases where a worker at this salary level is paying $30 or more monthly on an automobile, this sum must be gathered at the expense of all other items on the budget. The initial cost of children, like automobiles, is not included. Traveling, outside of automobile trips, cannot be indulged in without endangering the entire budget structure.

Thus it might be considered that the American worker earning $3,000 a year has some expectation of approaching the "American standard of living" if he can begin married life free of debt and with a cash reserve sufficient to furnish his home, buy an automobile, and pay the initial expenses necessary to bring his first child into the world. He must have no dependents outside the home, must have a steady and assured job and income without deductions, and must live at least one year without calamitous or emergency expenses. *Yet only 1,600,000 families, or 4 out of every 100, got between $3,000 and $5,000 in 1936.*

Judging by the foregoing figures, proponents have their hands full trying to prove that the "American standard" as it actually exists today guarantees the greatest number of families opportunity for real living. America's 29,400,300 families constitute 91 per cent of the total body of consumers. The remaining 9 per cent consists of 10,000,000 individuals who live alone and have separate incomes totaling 19 per cent of the national income. It remains for those individuals who are financially able and the 2,120,000 families, or 7 out of every 100, with incomes of $3,000 up to $10,000 and better, to purchase all the luxurious fruits of American ingenuity. Causes for economic depression can be easily recognized.

What Needs to Be Done

Instead of glibly talking about the fact the United States stands above the rest of the world in automobiles, telephones, radios and what not, industrialists should do everything possible to cut costs so as to supply goods at prices which consumers can afford to pay, at the same time keeping wages and salaries at the highest possible levels. Studies show that low prices and improved production methods increase profits. Profits adequately shared with workers become insurance payments on future income by balancing the economic wheel between production and consumption. We can, when business decides to do something besides criticize everything except itself, fulfill Senator Wagner's dream and "lift poverty from 10,000,000 American homes." There is as yet no sign however that enough business owners and executives have caught the vision that would enormously increase national income and vastly improve the nation's morale. They are still quite willing to "let George do it," George in this case being the government.

When the greatest single bracket of American family income rises from $1,500 to somewhere above $3,000 yearly, then Messrs. Cameron, Ford, Barton and those they represent can really swell their chests and strut their pride in the "American standard of living." But facing the truth about the present situation, when 79 per cent of all American families exist below the $2,000-a-year level, and 42 per cent below the $1,000 line, we conclude that the "American standard" is something yet to be achieved and definitely not a fact so well established that it can be taken for granted.

Changed Cross

THESE Indians reject their ancient sign,
The Swastika; no longer now divine
But mockery of the Cross, that sacred Tree
Where Love once hung to set his people free.

ISABEL FISKE CONANT.

Conscripts for Conquest?

By Harry Emerson Fosdick

A REAL CRISIS confronts this nation. In a time when we are not at war and when an overwhelming majority of the American people are determined not to go to war, we are being rushed pell-mell into military conscription as a settled national policy.

There yet is time to demand of Congress that this hysterical haste be stopped and that Congress itself and the American people who are to be conscripted be given opportunity to think this matter carefully through. Two weeks ago one would have supposed that the conscription bill would be passed immediately but Congress has been hearing from the people and the results in Washington are obvious. The people of this country whose whole structure of life it is proposed to alter in accordance with the most hated element of totalitarianism, military conscription, have a right at least to demand adequate evidence that it is necessary and decent time for careful consideration. . . .

Conscription and Democracy

I ask you to consider briefly three aspects of this matter. First, we are told that conscription is the democratic way in which to meet our crisis. Of all methods of fooling the American people I can think of nothing worse than telling them that conscription is democratic. Conscription is the essence of regimented, totalitarian, militaristic autocracy. Granted that some democratic nations in Europe have been compelled to adopt conscription, but insofar they have ceased being freely democratic and instead under compulsion have copied the methods of their totalitarian neighbors. Let us be honest about this: under some circumstances conscription is necessary, but it never can rightly be called democratic.

Or if you do call it that, then be sure that if conscription of man power is the way to be democratic, this nation is in no mood to stop there. If conscripting the boys out of our homes is demanded by this crisis and if that is the democratic way to handle it, then, believe me, we will go clean through with the process and be democratic in serious earnest. Conscription of wealth, conscription of industry, conscription of factories, conscription of labor, conscription of educators—why is not that democratic also, if conscription of life is? We cannot, I think, start conscription in this nation under present circumstances, making it a constituent part of our national policy when we are not at war and do not intend to go to war, without facing the most radical revolution in the structure of American life that this republic has ever gone through.

Men and Their Jobs

Second, we are constantly told that we must have conscription because voluntary enlistment is not sufficient for our needs. To this I answer that I have just been in Washington and I find plenty of wise people there who agree that voluntary methods of meeting the present crisis have not yet been adequately attempted or even explored.

One substitute plan, for example, is to open the door to one-year voluntary enlistment. . . . The people who insist that conscription is desperately demanded in America now to supply man power for our armed forces are merely choosing, I think, what looks to them like the simplest and easiest way out. But the American people had better not underestimate what we are letting ourselves in for if we are hurried into conscription. It is not simple and easy. You cannot, for example, take these hundreds of thousands of men away from their jobs without guaranteeing that their jobs or the financial equivalent will be waiting for them when they are through. Walk around what that is going to mean in industry! And that is only one minor item.

We who oppose hasty adoption of this conscription bill do so on the basis of the proposition that there are alternative ways of meeting the issue that will be adequate, and in that we think we are backed up by some of the most competent opinion available. Mr. Harry H. Woodring until a few weeks ago was secretary of war in this present administration. He ought to know. Listen to him then: "How any fair-minded member of Congress could say that we have given the voluntary system of enlistment for the United States army a fair trial and that it has broken down, and therefore we need the compulsory service, is beyond my understanding."

Third, we who oppose this hasty action that has been urged upon the nation are constantly charged with holding the idea that democracy is a matter of rights but not of duties. That seems to me nonsense. Of course democracy is a matter of duties. Of course every man and woman of us owes service to the nation. Of course this world crisis is tremendously serious and it involves us here. Of course we are determined as loyal citizens to defend our democratic liberties and institutions.

Democratic Duties and Conscription

To say however that that necessarily involves our cheering for this conscription bill is a complete illogical *non sequitur*. It does not follow. It is the duty of every manufacturer to serve the nation. Does that mean that his business ought to be conscripted? It is the duty of every educator to support democracy. Does that mean that he ought to be conscripted? It is the duty of every man to support democracy. Does that mean that he must be a conscript? The basic principle that we all owe patriotic allegiance to the nation is one thing; the method of regimented, totalitarian military conscription is another. . . .

What is this conscript army for? A conscript army is not needed to defend the United States or its contiguous interests. A conscript army is needed only if we are going to send an expeditionary force to conquer, let us say, Europe or Asia. The well justified suspicion will not down that behind this hectic haste to force conscription on us is the policy of the belligerent interventionists.

Mark this. The political leaders of this nation went to

the conventions in Philadelphia and Chicago and did not dare to put into the Republican and Democratic platforms a plank in favor of conscription with which to go before the people. Then Congress went straight to Washington and those in favor of conscription, under the guise of a desperate emergency pictured in terms of imminent armed invasion of this country, began insisting that we must act at once, without adequate thought, without a fair chance even for the people to realize what is going on. Well, at least, the people have spoken clearly enough so that Congress now pauses. I beg of you see to it that Congress hears from more of the people, that the wiser, cooler heads in Congress are supported in their opposition to this hasty action.

BOOKS

Farmers and Workers, Unite!

WHY FARMERS ARE POOR. THE AGRICULTURAL CRISIS IN THE UNITED STATES. *By Anna Rochester. International Publishers, $2.75.*

THIS book is a sort of companion piece to the author's *Rulers of America;* and like it, is a reference "must" book for preachers as well as professors. Here ready to hand for sermon and discussion group use are the facts of the farmer's world in these years of crisis.

It is the world of us all. Farming is part of our present economic system, as the author is at pains to show; and as such it shares the system's woes. In the complex picture are small-acreage farms, family-sized commercial farms, vast mechanized farms; soil erosion, dust storms, drouth, cut-over land; farm prices and cost-of-production demand; tenancy and sharecropping, especially in the south; mortgages and foreclosures, banking and insurance companies; credit arrangements and credit agencies; milk, meat and implement monopolies; wheat and cotton surpluses; world markets and war.

The three major groups of workers on the land and the ills that torment them are described in detail. The middle farmers (the class the church knows so well and leans upon so strongly) are staggering under mountains of debt. Small farmers are crowded miserably downward into tenancy and subsistence farming. Many of the three million wage workers on the land—a new class, at least in extent and in the nature of their "farming"—are migrants, working in the fields alongside their own children, living wretchedly. And down below all three groups are the farmers and farmers' boys who lose out at home and do not find jobs on the land elsewhere. These press hungrily on the jobs that unemployed workers are already trying to take away from those in industry who still insecurely hold them.

Programs developed by the government in an effort to mitigate farmer problems and the organization of farmers for struggle in their own behalf against land owners and processors are described and assessed. In two central chapters the author traces "the broad principles of economic development" essential to an understanding of the agricultural crisis. Interestingly these chapters are based on a study that Lenin, in exile in Switzerland at the opening of the First World War, made of American agriculture. He used as basis, as was his wont, accredited statistics, in this case the American census of 1900 and of 1910.

Miss Rochester uses a mass of concrete data and the best available statistical tables, government and other, to show trends and problems. Two major movements appear, and they are really parts of one. While the less successful farmers move downward, and often out, the more successful move toward capitalist operation, with increasing use of mechanized and other farm equipment and in increasing employment of wage labor. Both trends are high-lighted on the great capitalist farms of California, those "factories in the fields" which rely entirely on wage labor. And here appear the beginnings of a battle royal between workers organizing into unions and groping toward unity with organized industrial workers, and the aggressive owners who, joining hand with each other and with the entrenched business and banking interests of their area and of the whole country, use propaganda, legislation and on occasion extreme violence in an effort to crush the unions.

That industrial workers and farmers suffer a common plight is a corollary of the thesis that farming is part of the general economy. The demand for common action is rooted in the realities of the present crisis. How can workers buy the essential farm produce when their pay envelopes are nearly or quite empty? How can farmers with a low or non-existent income buy their share of the factories' mass output? The "poverty that haunts the countryside" can be cured, the author argues, only by a comprehensive program that includes our whole economic setup. And it must be a program carried forward in constructive struggle by workers and farmers.

WINIFRED L. CHAPPELL.

Studying American Colleges

THE COLLEGE CHARTS ITS COURSE. *By R. Freeman Butts. McGraw-Hill Book Company, $3.00.*

PEOPLE who sometimes wonder what higher education is all about will find some help in this book and they will not find it superficial, biased or cocksure. It is not a "credo" or apologetic for the progressives and it is not an appeal to return to the classical tradition. The author has combined historical perspective and sound philosophy to point the way toward more desirable goals in the future. Dr. Butts records in an impressive and rather complete way the historical development of higher education. The controversies of the Reformation, especially that between classics and science, are treated thoroughly. The influences of the European and Scottish universities on American institutions are all placed in their proper setting.

The author does a good job in analyzing the philosophical foundations of the controversial development of the American college. The issues lie in the philosophy of idealism and rationalism as opposed by experimental naturalism; in the idealistic conception of discipline as opposed by pragmatic freedom; in the conception that knowledge is good for its own sake versus knowledge as an instrument of present living; in the lingering faith in a small ruling class educated for its aristocratic rule versus a democratic society ruled by general intelligence. With these areas, further conflicts concerned with traditional or modern studies, religious versus secular values, general education as against special-

ization, and further development of electives instead of a new type of prescriptions, are treated in a clear and well documented way. The author does not offer a blueprint of an ideal college; he simply examines the chart by which the college so far has steered its course. He does believe, however, that the present confusion can best be relieved by an attitude that is "frankly critical, experimental and progressive."

The professional student of education will find in the book a rich mine of information about the attitudes of numerous college and university presidents as well as other ranks of educators. It is an illuminating array of opinions, among which those of Eliot of Harvard, Butler of Columbia, and Hutchins of Chicago are most frequently referred to or cited. The author does not seem to have omitted any of the topics that one would expect in a comprehensive discussion of the college curriculum and its implied or alleged values.

FORREST H. KIRKPATRICK.

Books Received

The Printed Writings of Jonathan Edwards, 1703-1758—A Bibliography. By Thomas H. Johnson. Princeton University Press, $7.50. Edwards' rank as the leading American philosopher before William James and the recent revival of interest in him justify the publication of this exhaustive bibliography. It will of course be useful primarily to specialists in American cultural history, but the curious general student will be surprised to discover how extensively Edwards' writings were translated into German, Dutch and French in his own day, when his fellow Americans by no means considered him a leading light.

Implications to the United States of a German Victory. National Policy Committee, Washington, D. C., 50 cents. This pamphlet is essentially a plea for the passage of the conscription act and an immediate declaration of war against Germany. The 28 persons who formed the special committee to consider the question were not unanimous in this conclusion, but "most . . . of the committee favored action to break through the ring of steel before it came too near."

Suez and Panama. By André Siegfried. Translated from the French by H. H. and Doris Hemming. Harcourt, $3.00. (To be published Sept. 6.)

Dusk of Dawn—An Essay toward an Autobiography of a Race Concept. By W. E. Burghardt Du Bois. Harcourt, $3.00. (To be published Sept. 6.)

The Oxford Book of Christian Verse. Chosen and edited by Lord David Cecil. Oxford University Press, $3.00. (To be reviewed.)

Joseph Tuckerman, Pioneer in American Social Work. By Daniel T. McColgan. Catholic University of America Press. (To be reviewed.)

Dedication of the Restored Old First Church of Bennington as Vermont's Colonial Shrine. Edited by Vincent Ravi Booth.

Arthurian Romance and Modern Poetry and Music. By William Albert Nitze. University of Chicago Press, $1.00. (To be reviewed.)

Pilgrim's Way. By John Buchan (Lord Tweedsmuir). Houghton Mifflin, $3.00. (To be published Aug. 27.)

Great Women of the Bible. By F. Townley Lord. Harper's, $1.50. Sixteen sermons by the minister of Bloomsbury Central Church, London. These portraits of women of the Old and New Testaments are highly imaginative, but with an imaginativeness that respects the known facts and springs from a sympathetic understanding of human nature, whatever its background.

The Bells of Amsterdam. By Ruth Holberg. Crowell, $2.00. This charming story of a Dutch bell-ringer's apprentice unobtrusively gives an accurate picture of life in seventeenth century Holland. For eight- to fourteen-year-olds.

Honorable Goat. By Helen Cory Bliss. Crowell, $2.00. Though the goat lives in China, he behaves as goats do anywhere. But he is accessory to the story of Chengting, who is very much of a boy in spite of the fact that he wears gowns of padded silk, rides in a ricksha and learns to write with a brush.

Gabriel's Search. By Della T. Lutes. Little, Brown, $2.50. (To be published Aug. 23.)

Minority Report. By Bernard DeVoto. Little, Brown, $2.75.

Getting Ready to be a Mother. By Carolyn Van Blarcom. Revised by Hazel Corbin. Macmillan, $2.50. A revision of a book which, through three editions, has been deservedly popular.

Facing the Facts. By J. S. Whale. Harper's, $1.00. A series of radio addresses by the president of Cheshunt College, Cambridge, England, on the facts of personality, evil, death, Christ and faith.

The Science of International Relations, Law, and Organization. By Paul Guggenheim and Pitman B. Potter. Geneva Studies, Vol. XI, No. 2. Geneva Research Center. This pamphlet contains an exchange of views on the nature of the study of international relations and organizations, its proper field and method, and its relation to other disciplines, especially international law.

CORRESPONDENCE

Willkie, Pro and Con

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I agree with your editorial in the July 31 issue, but there is something to be said on the other side. In other words, we seem to face a choice of two evils.

The Republicans are not entirely satisfied with having a politician, or a lawyer, or a general, or a county squire for president, but think that a big business man would be an improvement. It is hard to see where they could pick a better man than Willkie. If we say that the holding company is the extreme evolution of the capitalist system, then we might say that Willkie is the consummate flower of that particular plant.

One point in favor of Willkie is that he has long proclaimed that he is a liberal, and has asserted that "liberalism—in the realm of government we call it democracy—is still the faith of this country." In an article in the *Saturday Evening Post* for December 30, 1939, Willkie said: "The common purpose of liberals is to make men free. For it is not the primary purpose of liberals to make men rich, or secure, or powerful, but only to prevent such limitations upon freedom as insecurity, poverty and weakness may impose." That is the most extreme definition of liberalism that I have ever seen.

In the *New Republic* for March 18 Willkie has an article, "Fair Trial," in which he says: "Equal treatment under the law means exactly what it says, whether the man before the tribunal is a crook, a Democrat, Republican, Communist or business man; whether he is rich or poor, white or black, good or bad. You cannot preserve a democracy on any other basis. You cannot preserve human liberties on any other theory." Then he quotes a number of cases in which the accused did not receive a fair trial—Eugene Debs, Mooney and Billings, Sacco and Vanzetti, Huey Long, Fritz Kuhn and others.

I am inclined to think that Mr. Willkie is a liberal of the same pattern that many other liberals are. When one or two insecure, poor and weak individuals, Sacco and Vanzetti for example, are separated from the great mass of the insecure, poor and weak by some unusual and widely publicized circumstances, then it is easy to see the limitations imposed, and the liberal flies to the defense of human freedom. That does not cost anything and the liberal is praised by all good citizens. But when the 10,000,000 unemployed and the one-third of the population that is ill-fed, ill-clothed and ill-housed, who are certainly suffering from limitations upon their freedom, are mentioned to that kind of a liberal, he is not interested. There is danger that if anything were really done about that matter it might cost someone some money.

But he is always interested enough to object decidedly to any restriction being placed upon rugged individualism in business, even though such freedom results in increased insecurity, poverty and weakness, as has recently been graphically demonstrated in the adoption of the new labor-saving process for making sheet-steel. Many thousands of employees were thrown on the junk-pile, to be cared for by public relief, in order that the stockholders of the steel company might receive bigger dividends.

In Germany they say the state is everything and the individuals are nothing; in America we say that the profits of the corporations are everything and the ex-employees are nothing.

That may be liberalism, but I deny that it is democracy.

Auna Maria, Fla. D. T. HINCKLEY.

No Economic Sanctions

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: The Christian Century has championed many a brave cause. I wish it would say something now against the inherent dangers in this movement to throw communists and bundists out of jobs. By this Hitler-like policy we Americans are creating our own "fifth column." Hitler felt that the Jews were dangerous to his social order so he persecuted them. We feel that the communists and bundists are dangerous so we persecute them. There is only one way to combat "isms." That is for us all to work to make American democracy so richly rewarding to all who live therein that any other way seems unthinkable.

New Orleans, La. MRS. BETTINA B. CARTER.

Thinking in Wartime

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Thank you for your courageous editorial in your July 24 issue, and for the well deserved rebuke to the article by Dr. Van Dusen. What this war has done to the minds of some of our most respected leaders passes all comprehension. Even they think with their hearts and not their heads. Since when is the cause of Great Britain identical with the cause of Christianity and of democratic civilization?

I can sympathize with the position of these men who by marriage or family connection are drawn to the British position. But is it utterly impossible for even highly intelligent men to remain objective and balanced in their points of view?

Bethel Evangelical Church, ROBERT C. STANGER.
Detroit, Mich.

An Awful Choice

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I have read with interest and genuine sympathy the article by Oswald Garrison Villard on "Should Britain Now Talk Peace?" It seems to me that there is a certain naiveté in the assumption that Britain could trust any peace terms entered into with a person of Adolf Hitler's demonstrated character. Surely, if we are to judge by recent historical precedents, we must say that peace to Hitler means only a less costly way of obtaining his objectives.

While all civilization stands aghast at the horrible slaughter and unspeakable suffering, may there not be to Britons some things worse than physical death and property destruction? May it not be that an awful choice has been forced upon Britain—the choice between certain slavery and a chance to maintain, by the only method remaining, the right to continue as a free people? A Hitler-dictated peace, so far as some of us in this country can see, would almost certainly mean a Europe, if not an entire world, in which anything approaching the historic liberties would be impossible not only in our generation but for generations yet unborn.

It is easy to applaud both Mr. Villard's humanitarianism and his desire for evading the possible destruction of England (which he seems, in his terror at nazi military might, to take for granted). However, I should suppose that any Briton reading his article would find it utterly impossible to share Mr. Villard's rather amazing confidence in the good faith of men who have repeatedly demonstrated nothing but the most depravedly bad faith in modern history. Presumably a Briton would rather seek, at any cost to himself or his family, to defend his homeland against the domination of Hitlerism, than to trust a government which, in all its dealings, has exhibited nothing but the calculated brutality of a conscienceless military despot.

If, to restrain that mad totalitarianism now "on the loose," Britain must choose between armed resistance or the surrender of all that Britons hold dear, I, for one, feel grateful to God that such freely chosen determination to defend one's native land, at unpredictable cost in life and treasure, still exists in this insane world.

Stamford, Conn. NORMAN W. TWIDDY.

Cool Welcome

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: In the issue of The Christian Century for July 24 your correspondent from Mississippi made this statement concerning the Southern Presbyterian General Assembly: "The Disciples of Christ were told they need not send an annual fraternal delegate, as the assembly's time was too valuable."

This leaves an entirely false impression of what actually happened. The following report of the standing committee on foreign relations was adopted, thereby becoming the action of the assembly in regard to this matter: "We recommend that in reply to communications of the Rev. Jesse M. Bader inquiring if we would welcome a fraternal delegate from the Disciples of Christ at our annual assembly in 1941, we say that we shall be glad to receive such a delegate, leaving to our committee on devotional exercises of the next assembly the decision in regard to the day and hour on which such a delegate will be heard. That we instruct our stated clerk to inform Dr. Bader that on account of the usual congestion of business during our assemblies we would prefer that an occasional, rather than an annual, fraternal delegate should be sent."

Maxwell St. Presbyterian Church, JOHN K. JOHNSON.
Lexington, Ky.

Speaking of Epitaphs

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: An epitaph on the monument to an old Indian fighter makes us smile. Here it is: "To Lem S. Frame, who during his life shot 89 Indians whom the Lord delivered into his hands, and who was looking forward to making up his hundred before the end of the year when he fell asleep in Jesus March 27, 1843."

Is the moral "blind spot" of the old Indian fighter's friends any more grimly humorous than is the ethical confusion of Christians who, on the basis of the teaching of the New Testament, attempt to justify the present war and America's entrance into it?

Methodist Church, WILLIAM M. JUSTICE.
Hewitt, Texas.

Salt of the Earth

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: In a world that is growing darker and lonelier, I want to express my gratitude for the light and leadership which is emanating from the pages of The Christian Century. You and the *New Yorker* are about the only publications which continue to manifest sanity. The remnant that remains is larger than might be expected. Most of the young preachers and many of the older ones are standing fast. The men in the pastorate who are standing by their convictions have my profound admiration. They are the salt of the earth.

By the way, why don't you say something about the way in which the National Education Association presented arms? The nazis could not have done better.

Board of Home Missions, JOHN R. SCOTFORD.
Congregational Churches,
New York, N. Y.

NEWS *of the* CHRISTIAN WORLD

Baptists Aiding British Missions

Seek Fund of $200,000—University President Joins Army—Doubt Grows on Conscription

(Correspondence from the Southwest)

WACO, TEXAS, Aug. 3.—At the recent meeting of the Southern Baptist executive committee in Nashville, Tenn., an encouraging checkup was made on the special fund being raised for emergency aid to the foreign missions of the British Baptists. The amount sought is $200,000, to match a like amount from Northern Baptists. Dr. George W. Truett is chairman of the fund and its secretary is Dr. Louie D. Newton. On account of the illness of Dr. Frank Tripp of Montgomery, Ala., the new president of the executive committee is Dr. C. D. Daniel of El Dorado, Ark.

* * *

University Vespers Feature Regional Talent

Union vesper services at the University of Oklahoma at Norman have been well attended this summer. Speakers have been Dr. David Lefkowitz, Temple Emanuel, Dallas; Rev. Renwick C. Kennedy, Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church, Camden, Ala.; Chancellor Benjamin F. Schwartz, Nebraska Wesleyan University; Dr. R. C. Snodgrass, First Christian Church, Amarillo, Texas; Dr. J. M. Dawson, First Baptist Church, Waco, Texas; Dr. Clyde V. Hickerson, Baptist Temple, San Antonio.

* * *

Texans Vacation in Far Places

Vacation has taken Texas pastors to far distant places. Dr. L. N. D. Wells, East Dallas Christian Church, is preaching in Honolulu. Dr. W. Angie Smith, pastor First Methodist Church, Dallas, will preach in Long Beach, Calif. Dr. Max Strang, Central Congregational Church, is vacationing in Colorado, where half the preachers of the larger Texas churches may be found, unless they could be located at one or another of the many religious encampments now in progress in the southwest. Among pastoral changes may be noted the going of Dr. Walter Anthony from Austin Avenue Methodist Church, Waco, Texas, to First Church, Charleston, Va., and the coming to the Waco church from First Church, El Paso, of Dr. W. H. Mansfield.

* * *

Doubt Grows On Conscription

While 85 per cent of Texas voters, according to the Gallup poll, will support President Roosevelt for a third term, there is probably not anything like so large a percentage of people who are for the peacetime conscription bill pending in Congress. This writer preached against the adoption of the bill and was quite surprised to find the large number locally who agreed with his position. The press of the state, however, in some instances at least is hard on the ministers who speak against the draft. Texas has returned Governor W. Lee O'Daniel, the flour salesman with the hillbilly band, by an even larger vote than in his election two years ago, this time the oil owners joining with the cotton farmers in his selection—a fact explained, it is believed, by the governor's preference for a sales tax over an oil tax. While O'Daniel has given out no word to that effect, it is being charged that he will support Willkie, and if he does he will have the oil men on his side, for big business in Texas is generally for Willkie.

* * *

Baptist Quits Presidency For Chaplaincy

Hardin-Simmons University, Abilene, Texas, is rejoicing over the acceptance of the presidency by Dr. W. R. White, pastor of the large First Baptist Church, Oklahoma City. President John W. Raley of Oklahoma Baptist University has taken a leave of absence so that he may serve as a chaplain in the 45th division of the national guard, "considering it his patriotic duty in this world crisis."

JOSEPH MARTIN DAWSON.

Plan Pacifist Conference At Lake Geneva

The Chicago office of the F.O.R., 1441 North Cleveland avenue, is distributing enrollment blanks for the pacifist conference to be held at Lake Geneva, Wis., Sept. 9-11.

Reports Episcopalians Against Presbyterian Concordat

Approximately two-thirds of the clergy and laity of the Episcopal Church oppose the adoption of the proposed concordat with the Presbyterian Church if a poll taken by the *Living Church,* Anglo-catholic weekly, is correct. The paper used methods similar to those employed by the Gallup poll to secure what it believes to be a representative cross-section of opinion.

Quaker Relief Work in France Increases

The American Friends Service Committee has added to its relief work in France the opening of temporary shelters for refugees, homes for orphans, abandoned and wounded children, medical clinics, maternity hospitals, and feeding and clothing centers. Supplies are being brought in from all over Europe, including England. Quaker workers say that a serious food shortage will be felt in the near future.

Midwestern Pacifist Clergy to Meet

The Fellowship of Pacifist Ministers for the midwest area will meet in the great hall of First Methodist Church, Evanston, Ill., on the afternoon of Aug. 27. Ministers holding the pacifist position are invited to attend.

Cardinal Heads Increased Catholic War Effort

Cardinal Hinsley has been made president of a new organization, "The Sword of the Spirit," which is designed to increase and speed up Catholic war support in Great Britain.

Indian Memorial To C.F. Andrews

Gandhi Heads Fund to Continue Work of 'Christ's Faithful Apostle'—Punjab Excited Over Pro-Nazis

(Correspondence from India)

TIRUVALLA, June 20.—An appeal for a memorial to the late C. F. Andrews has been issued over the signatures of Mahatma Gandhi, Abdul Kalam Azad, president of the Indian National Congress, Jawaharlal Nehru, Bishop Wescott, Anglican metropolitan of India, Madan Mohan Malaviya, the founder of the Hindu university in Benares, Srinivasa Sastri, former agent of the government of India in South Africa, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and S. K. Datta, principal of the Forman Christian College, Lahore.

* * *

Andrews Attached to Tagore's Ashram

Santiniketan in Bengal was Andrews' permanent India home. For over a quarter of a century he affectionately identified himself with this ashram, now under the leadership of the poet, Rabindranath Tagore. The educational institutions at Santiniketan, with the center of rural reconstruction close by at Sriniketan, have far outgrown the first conception and become a world-famous center of international culture. To the welfare of these institutions, with their vision of universal brotherhood and their service of international understanding and peace, Andrews gave wholehearted devotion.

* * *

To Erect Hall for Study of Christ

It was true insight which caused an Indian friend to interpret the initials "C.F.A." as meaning "Christ's faithful apostle." Christ was the center of Andrews' life. Devotion to him was his outstanding characteristic and the source of his inspiration and strength. During the last months at Santiniketan, he often expressed the hope that in this place, where the civilizations of the world can share with each other the bases of their strength, there might be established a hall of Christian culture which could do for India's thought through contact with the Western world what the "Cheena-Bhuwan," the hall of Chinese culture, is expected to do for our relationship with China. Appeal is now made for funds for the establishment of such a hall in Santiniketan. The central purpose of the hall would be the study of the teaching and character of Christ and its application to the solution of international problems. It would seek to attract scholars and students, especially of the East, to the task of interpreting in their own modes of thought the spirit and mind of Christ.

* * *

Water and Healing For Villages

Andrews was most appropriately called

deena bandhu, the friend of the poor, and the poor in the villages around Santiniketan knew his friendship. The rural center at Sriniketan has a good doctor and dispensary, but no hospital or operating theater. It is also proposed to build a small but properly equipped hospital to serve the villages around and to dig each year "*deena bandhu* wells" in the neediest areas. Lack of adequate water supply is the main cause of the grinding poverty of the Biobhum district.

For carrying out the project of a hall of Christian culture and for providing the hospital and wells it is estimated that a fund of at least $150,000 is required. The signatories appeal to the friends and admirers of Mr. Andrews all over the world to give liberal support to a scheme which will make possible in his name the preservation and enrichment of work nearest to his own heart.

* * *

Moslems Riot in Punjab

Khaksar literally means "earth-like," and the movement which bears the name had its origin in the Punjab seven years ago. Its founder and leader is Innayatullah Khan, a graduate of Forman Christian College and Christ College, Cambridge. It claims today 400,000 followers. They have uniforms and carry the spade in their parades. It is partly a reform movement in Islam, but with the wider purpose of bringing into being a better social order for all. Non-violence does not function as one of its principles. In recent weeks the demonstrations by Khaskars in Lahore and other parts of Punjab have been frequent. There is suspicion that the movement is financed by nazi funds and governed by nazi ideologies. The Punjab government has therefore been taking active steps under the Defense of India Act. Khaksars who march in military formation are arrested. During one such encounter the police fired and two or three Khaksars died. Great demonstrations by Khaksars and their Muslim sympathizers are being staged in Lahore over the funeral processions of the victims.

* * *

Stanley Jones' Ashram Breaks Up Over War Issue

It was announced recently that the ashram of Stanley Jones at Lucknow has been closed. Among the reasons that led Stanley Jones to come to this decision is the acute difference of opinion that has arisen among the members of the fellowship in regard to war and to the attitude which the British government expects American missionaries to take towards war. It was over this question that J. Holmes Smith, the chief member of the ashram next to Stanley Jones, had to leave India.

P. Oomman Philip.

Catholic Monument to Christ Will Dominate Washington

Plans have been completed for the building of a mammoth monument to Christ which will form the entrance to the new building of the National Catholic Welfare Conference on Massachusetts avenue, Washington, D. C. The monument, 90 feet high, will have a sculptured niche containing a 20-foot statue of Christ. It will occupy one of the most prominent sites in Washington. The new legation for the apostolic delegate is also on Massachusetts avenue, not far from the British embassy.

Sockman Scores Conscription Act

Says Conscription Fosters Evils It Seeks To Cure—Quakers Hit Draft, Complete International Studies

(Correspondence from Philadelphia)

Philadelphia, Aug. 7.—Considerable opposition has been aroused against the proposed military conscription of the Burke-Wadsworth bill as war hysteria. Dr. Ralph W. Sockman of New York, recently re-elected chairman of the Methodist peace commission, voiced this attitude at Ocean City, N. J., where he condemned the measure as "inviting the same kind of evils against which we are aroused." Patriotic and peace-minded citizens, he felt, should be alarmed and make their protests effective. Voluntary enlistment, he believes, should be tried first, instead of conscription methods, which he characterized as totalitarian. M. Austin of the Tioga Baptist Church has gone to Washington to protest for a score of city pastors against the draft, which he scored as "a move toward a goose-step civilization and a violation of democracy's fundamental freedoms."

According to Arthur J. Bertholf of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, "many ministers will return from their vacations to find a changed America. Things are happening so fast that the America we knew before this summer is passing." The central committee of the Friends' General Conference, convened at Cape May, N. J., registered with the Senate military affairs committee "its conviction that the adoption of military conscription is a negation of the right of conscience, a denial of religious freedom, a violation of the fundamental concepts of democracy."

* * *

A Thousand Quakers Meet at Cape May

Between one and two thousand Friends from seven yearly meetings flocked to their biennial general conference at Cape May and for a week considered "Building for the World of Tomorrow." Daily round tables were held on education, religious education, the Friends' message, international peace and justice, children in a democracy, family relationships, employer and labor relationships and what a young Friend can do. Addresses were made by Alexander Purdy, Patrick Malin, Elizabeth Boody Schumpeter, David Cushman Coyle. Alexander J. Stoddard, Clarence E. Pickett, D. Elton Trueblood, Bliss Forbush, Jesse H. Holmes, Elizabeth H. Bartlett, Helen Mary Forbush, Horace A. Eaton, William Hubben, Florence W. Potts, W. Ralph Gawthrop, George B. Corwin.

* * *

Urges Abandonment Of Open Door

The United States should abandon the "open door" policy in China, Elizabeth Boody Schumpeter of the Harvard-Radcliffe Bureau of International Research told the Quaker conference. "The weakness of our present foreign policy is that we irritate without accomplishing; we speak loudly but are not prepared to back it up. We have not tried to cooperate with Japan;

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we have only tried to dictate to Japan." In the lead toward a world organization, according to Dr. Frank Aydelotte, the first step is to move American public opinion, which at present seems indifferent or hostile. Presenting the activities of the American Friends Service Committee to the conference, Clarence E. Pickett declared it to be "in the infancy of its service to mankind" and called it "a venture in money, energy and ingenuity to meet human need."

* * *

Hold Ten International Relations Institutes

Methodists, Congregationalists and Presbyterians outnumbered the Quakers at the ten institutes of international relations, sponsored this summer by the peace section of the American Friends Service Committee and held on ten strategic campuses throughout the country. Twenty-three denominations were registered, including 51 Catholics and 41 Jews. Forty-two states were represented, with three from China, two from Hawaii and one from Turkey. Over 1,600 registered for at least five days, 600 for part time. Evening attendance aggregated 25,724. Among the institutes were two new ones: Midwestern at Manchester College, North Manchester, Ind., and the Student Peace Service Training Institute at Denison University, Granville, O. Members of the faculties included Muriel Lester, Clarence Streit, Samuel Guy Inman, Kirby Page, Elbert Russell, T. Z. Koo, Karl Scholz, Harold E. Fey, E. Raymond Wilson, R. Babulul Singh, a Gandhi pacifist, Maynard Krueger, Socialist candidate for vice-president, and many other distinguished authorities on international relations.

* * *

Quakers Set Up First World Council

For the first time in Quaker history a Friends' world consultative committee has been functioning. According to Anna Griscom Elkinton of Moylan, Pa., 40 yearly meetings and other groups have appointed representatives. Carl Heath, the chairman, was to have lectured this summer at Cape May and Pendle Hill but could not leave England. Two meetings have already been held in Europe. A third, planned for America in October, has been canceled. The committee is divided into three sections: European, American and Far Eastern.

* * *

Lancaster Assembly Has Jubilee

This is the week of the "Spiritual Conference of Ministers and Laymen" of the Evangelical and Reformed Church at Franklin and Marshall Academy, Lancaster, Pa. This year they celebrate their golden jubilee. Here is a significant conclave each year of forward-looking men. Their Bible study each morning is led by Dr. George W. Richards on the Gospel of Mark. Papers have been read by Dr. Paul M. Schroeder of Rochester, Dr. George W. Hartman of Harrisburg, Rev. Theodore C. Brown of Bethlehem, Dr. Andrew G. Trucal of Hanover, N. H., President Theodore F. Herman of Lancaster and Dr. William F. Kosman of Allentown. Dr. John Lenz of Collegeville preached the opening sermon. Dr. Paul S. Leinbach of Philadelphia, editor of the *Messenger,* is president of the assembly.

CHARLES DANIEL BRODHEAD.

Swiss Concede Axis Dominance

Turning Backs on Britain—World Organizations Shift Headquarters to Washington, D. C.

(Correspondence from Geneva)

GENEVA, July 15.—The breakdown of French resistance has completely revolutionized the European outlook. It is quite extraordinary how rapidly the tone of the Swiss press has altered. The former obvious sympathy with the Allies has yielded in some quarters to an acquiescence in the establishment of a new continental order under German and Italian leadership. Backs are being turned on Britain. A British observer may feel that this move is somewhat premature, but that is indubitably the present trend.

* * *

Christian Organizations Retain Geneva Headquarters

The international organizations have had to modify plans of action which they had made on the basis that Switzerland would continue to be a point from which satisfactory communications could be maintained throughout the world. The official seats of the League of Nations and the International Labor Office remain here, but the majority of their officials have been obliged to leave, and activities are much reduced. The Palace of the league has *not,* however, closed down, as a headline over my June letter announced. The international Christian organizations have decided to maintain their headquarters in Geneva, to keep closely in touch with the European situation, and to maintain as many of their activities as possible. They are convinced that the importance of their task has been increased tenfold by recent developments.

The provisional committee of the World Council of Churches is less affected than the other organizations by recent events, as its staff was already decentralized. Its secretaries in Geneva, the United States and Great Britain will continue their work as before, but more responsibility for world contacts will devolve upon the New York office.

* * *

Y.W.C.A. Will Open Washington Office

The World's Y.W.C.A. has carried into effect a previous decision that a temporary office should be established in Washington, D. C., in case the exigencies of war should make this seem advisable. This action does not mean the transfer of the permanent headquarters of the World's Y.W.C.A., which remain in Geneva. The Washington office is a temporary measure to meet the practical necessity of the war emergency. It will maintain contact throughout the world movement. The Geneva headquarters will be the center for Europe. It will continue its relationship to the emergency program for refugees and evacuees.

The chairman and one secretary of the World's Student Christian Federation are remaining in Geneva, to keep in touch with the movements on the continent of Europe. The general secretary has been in France, and is in Geneva for consultation before

further travel. Two secretaries are in the United States. Their services will be utilized in maintaining contact with the non-European movements.

A cooperative effort is being made by the international Christian organizations to foster the new interest in Bible study which is one of the most notable results of the world conference of Christian youth held at Amsterdam last summer. In view of the opinion expressed in The Christian Century some time ago that the conference was not very effective or successful, it is important to quote the following passage from a recent report of the provisional committee of the World Council of Churches. Its accuracy is unquestionable: "'Amsterdam' continues to make its effect felt in literally all parts of the world. Articles and letters received from many countries give impressive evidence of the fact that Christian young people who had never had a contact with the church of Christ as a world-wide fellowship have now understood what that fellowship is and what it should mean for their lives."

* * *

Providence Impatient With France

The first newspaper published in Paris after German occupation printed under a six-column headline, "Days of sorrow and mourning," the following: "We are going to pay for 60 years of de-Christianization, falling birthrate, decline into paganism and materialism, decline into political anarchy. We are paying dearly for the errors and crimes of our great French revolution of 1789-1793. At the Marne in the last war, St. Geneviève, St. Louis, St. Joan of Arc, Our Lady of Paris had interceded for us. Providence granted us 25 years' respite in which to recover ourselves. We returned to our freethinking, materialistic vomit, to our 'popular front' moral and political anarchy. We have worn out the patience of Providence! We have disgusted the good God himself! And now, when will the Lord grant us the recovery and resurrection of France?"

On June 22, Pastor Marc Boegner, president of the French Protestant federation, in a radio message emphasized that the first act of the French in this painful hour must be an act of repentance. Christians must not, however, turn today against those who have deserted the faith and make them bear all the weight of responsibility. Rather must they accuse themselves and acknowledge their own failures as Christians and as a Christian church.

* * *

Evangelism Flourishing In Germany

The fortnightly magazine *Junge Kirche* on June 15 says, "In this war, evangelism never ceased, and has brought much quiet blessing here and there. The people in the parishes are very open to an evangelistic message. The following account of an evangelistic week comes from a Silesian parish: 'On the first evening, nearly every place was full, and the number of participants grew every day, so that all kinds of improvised seats had to be used to accommodate the congregation. By the end of the week, people were sitting all over the first floor, all down the stairs and all over the ground floor of the minister's house. At least 1,200 people out of a total population of 1,550 in the parish came to the minister's house during the week."

During the summer the missionary festivals are to be carried on as usual, even where local pastors have been mobilized.

* * *

Swiss Churches Join World Council

The assembly of the Swiss Protestant church federation has decided to join the World Council of Churches, with the reservation that this act "does not imply any change in the existing confessional status of the Swiss churches." An impressive message from the consistory of the National Protestant Church of Geneva was read on Sunday, June 30, in all churches in the town. It includes the following grave words: "The events which we are witnessing today appear to us as judgments of God. They force us to listen to the word, 'Except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish.' We must show greater faithfulness in the preaching of the gospel and the care of souls, and a truer understanding of the signs of the times. . . ."

* * *

Netherlands Churches Turn to Bible for Consolation

The following message has been addressed by the commission of the synod of the Reformed Church of the Netherlands to the Dutch nation:

"At a time when questions of a physical, moral and spiritual nature overwhelm us, when the uncertainties about ourselves, our families, our positions, our whole national life, our House of Orange, oppress us, we open together our Bible, which reveals its wonderful wealth precisely at this moment.

"We see the suffering which has come to thousands of families. We are aware of the suffering of the nation as a whole. We look into a future which with its thousands of problems does not give us any clear answer. But we try to speak at the same time of the consolation of God, which numberless people have experienced in other centuries, and which will not be inadequate for our needs today."

* * *

Finnish Christians Return Norwegian Help

The funds which were raised some months ago by the churches of Norway on behalf of the Church of Finland for its work of reconstruction have been returned by the Finnish Church to Norway, to help to meet the needs of the Norwegian churches, which are now faced with exceedingly difficult tasks of reconstruction.

A Danish pastor who recently visited Finland gives the following account of his impressions: "Finland was bitter on March 13 and long before that. But not long after. Astonishingly quickly, indeed after three days, the country had changed its expression in several respects. The old connection with Sweden, the deep feeling of solidarity with the north, broke through again. . . . Finland forgot what it had not received, in gratitude for what it had received. And the unity appears to be maintaining itself. . . . 'We are not looking for a scapegoat; for we have no scapegoat,' wrote someone in Finland. . . .

"It was wonderful to see how quickly the will to fight changed into the will to reconstruct. There was no defeatism. Now hands are to be laid to the work in every area. First of all a defense and a watch towards the east. Then the closest possible relations with the west."

DENZIL G. M. PATRICK.

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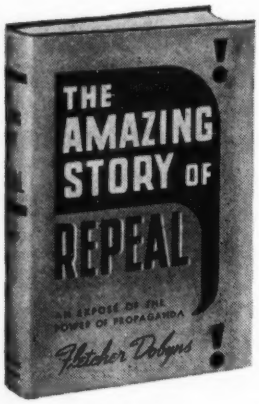

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Britain Considers War Aftermath

Priestley Speaks for People—Smuts, Halifax Answer Hitler—Future of Missions—Methodists on Evangelism

(Correspondence from England)

LONDON, Aug. 31.—Mr. J. B. Priestley is worth far more than a battalion upon the home front. His postscripts to the radio news on Sunday evenings are in the same key as Mr. Churchill's, but they deal not with the political situation but with the spirit of the people. He holds listeners spellbound. His talks are all the more effective because Mr. Priestley is not speaking as an advocate or as a party man, committed by his past. He is the Englishman become articulate. Last Sunday he described with a strange simplicity the life of a young airman with whom he used to play tennis before the war began. What is to become of such a man as this airman after the war? With wrath Mr. Priestly told how his like were treated after 1918. This speaker at least knows that all was not well in that old world and we must not go back. Some lines from James Mackereth were quoted the other day. They bear upon Mr. Priestley's subject.

"The dead folk praise the live men
That fling to death its lie;
At cloistral windows comforted
With pageantries of sky
The idle saints sit lauding God,
Seeing the pennons flv,
As the paladins, the young men,
Swing proudly past to die."

* * *

Smuts and Halifax Reply to Hitler

In the lull before the great action begins three voices have spoken to the world. If these speeches should prove the last words of the combatants descending into the arena, the people of this nation would be well content to let General Smuts and Lord Halifax speak for them. Herr Hitler could not complain that he was not given a hearing. A perfectly fair summary of his words was given on the radio, and left to speak for itself. The speech was printed in full in the press. No conditions were proposed which demanded an answer. He was understood by us to be offering a last chance of submission before the day of wrath came upon us.

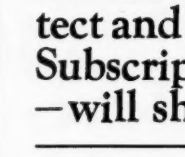
It was only necessary for Lord Halifax to treat his threats with scorn. But both the South African statesman and the foreign secretary addressed themselves to showing where the real differences were to be found between the nazi solution of the European situation and that for which this nation stands. General Smuts, after sketching the proposed reconstruction of Europe under the control of the nazis, said of it: "The vision which has guided our long slow advance will have perished in utter darkness and defeat." He pleaded for what is very much in the mind of our people, a positive plan for an "international society of free nations."

Lord Halifax must have needed courage to speak, as he did, in the language of Christian faith. He must have expected that Signor Gayda would attack his speech as "sanctimonious." No Englishman, however he may criticize Lord Halifax on other grounds, would treat that charge as needing an answer. We know that the words came from the heart of a Christian man. In them he spoke the deep, often inarticulate thoughts of the ordinary man. We may suppress them, be ashamed of them at times and often be false to them, but they are nonetheless very real, and statesmen who write them off as hypocritical will make a grave mistake.

* * *

Missions Will Not Die

Overseas missions have suffered heavy losses through the weakening and even the cessation of enterprises based upon Germany, Norway, Denmark and other countries. It is claimed by *The Church Abroad* that if such a disaster had happened 20 years ago, we must have trembled for the future of overseas missions. The churches of the east and south were young and weak, and had not learned to stand on their own



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feet. They still look to Europe for help, but it is now for the help which the older partner can give to the younger. Rev. A. M. Chirgwin of the London Missionary Society writes that the situation might make the friends of missions despondent, "yet I don't know anyone who is." Their hopes, as Judson once said, "are bright as the promises of God."

* * *

Methodists Discuss Evangelism

It would be unjust to remember from the Methodist Conference only the discussion upon the message to the American Methodists. The conference in its five days had much to do; it was not a prey to morbid thoughts or neglectful of its pressing concerns. Nothing was allowed to take precedence over the call to evangelism. Whether they were considering the unity of the whole church, or the forward movement in Methodism, or literature, the Methodists put first their concern to evangelize. Of this too the Archbishop of York spoke when he visited them. Some of the accustomed tasks of conference were in abeyance. No candidates for the ministry were received. But the various departments brought their reports upon social welfare, spiritual healing, and the immediate needs created by the war. A sum of £50,000 is to be raised at once to deal with emergencies due to the war.

* * *

Debate Appeal to America

The Methodists in conference at Sheffield were divided upon the terms of the resolution to be sent to the Methodists in the U.S.A. The question was whether they should appeal "not only for sympathy but for all possible help" (this was the original resolution) or, "We welcome your sympathy and your support." (This was the amendment proposed by the president, Dr. Henry Brett.) In the end, after a private session, the original resolution was carried by four votes to one. It is not difficult to understand what lay behind the discussion. It must be remembered that it was a resolution from one church to another.

* * *

And So Forth

The power of Parliament was shown last week in its treatment of the Emergency Powers Bill. The House of Commons forced the home secretary to agree that there should be some judicial review of sentences of death and long terms of imprisonment which might be passed by the special courts, set up in war zones. Sir John Anderson resisted for some time the general feeling of the House, but gave way. These courts are provided for a possible crisis in which swift measures must be taken to check treachery, looting and other crimes.

The 1906 "class" of conscripts was enrolled on Saturday. The 4,000,000th man has now been called up. On Saturday 340,640 were registered.

The prime minister himself dealt with the overseas evacuation scheme for children; the scheme was postponed, not abandoned. He admitted that the full bearings of the question were not understood by the government when it was first proposed. He promised that the rich would have no advantage over the poor when the government scheme begins.

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Girls of the Road (Col.) Ann Dvorak, Lola Lane, Helen Mack.	*Melodrama.* To get understanding of vagrant girls so they can be helped, governor's daughter becomes one herself.	Just a routine program filler, but has been intelligently handled and acted. Result: an effective presentation of a social problem, and *a genuinely interesting film.* M, Y
Phantom Raiders (MGM) W. Pidgeon, Florence Rice, J. Schildkraut.	*Detective.* Nick Carter runs down ingenious criminal who, with radio-controlled bombs, sinks ships for an insurance company.	Moves at a lively pace; has rather original plot elements and good suspense. Schildkraut a satisfyingly sinister villain. The humor helps, too. *Above-average thriller.* M, Y
†**Pride and Prejudice** (MGM) Mary Boland, Greer Garson, Edmund Gwenn, Edna Oliver, L. Olivier.	*Comedy of manners.* The famous Jane Austen novel about the 17th century Bennett family: Mrs. Bennett's fluttering search for five sons-in-law, and Elizabeth's battle of wits with sundry suitors.	Film has been excellently adapted from the novel and play, and smooth direction gains the most from the many humorous situations. Brilliant dialogue; minimum of action. Most men will find it *talky and inconsequential;* women, *delightfully discerning.* M, Y
The Ramparts We Watch (RKO)	*"March of Time's" first full-length feature.* Utilizing 1914-18 story of typical U. S. town (setting is actually New London, Conn.), townspeople as actors, newsreel shots, it seeks to show how the First World War affected America.	Story and newsreels are really interesting. But as a presentation of the truth, film is superficial and emotional, glossing over the realities of war, and what has been learned since 1918 about its true causes and the fallaciousness of much of the thinking and acting which it induces. Obviously, *preparedness propaganda.* M, Y
They Drive By Night (Warners) H. Bogart, Alan Hale, Ida Lupino, George Raft, A. Sheridan.	*Melodrama* about truck drivers and their troubles: long, nerve-wracking drives on little sleep, crooked contractors, wrecks, and, for Trucker Raft, a boss's wife who kills her husband to get him, fails, goes insane.	First half, especially, with its tough-talking drivers, trucks lumbering through the night, and roadside eateries, is lively and realistic, although some of the dialogue suggests a letdown in the Hays office. Lupino dominates last half, playing the murderess. *Absorbing, but tough.* M

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Capitalism, nationalism, liberalism, science, laissez-faire, popular education, and humanitarianism cannot save our tottering civilization!

says HUGH STEVENSON TIGNER

in his book *(just published)*

Our Prodigal Son Culture

Here is Mr. Tigner's picture of "the condition of some of our formerly most trusted assets"

1. Our business and financial institutions now stand out as the very things which prevent technology from giving us a life of material abundance.
2. Our science has proved itself a neutral contribution, creating as many problems as it has solved.
3. The printing press and the spread of literacy has lost its halo.
4. "Education" is stranded in a theoretical vacuum.
5. Our liberal-democratic-laissez-faire political system doesn't work out.
6. Our spiritual theory that life is made rich through the emancipation of the individual from restraints and obligations has faded.
7. The attempt to find meaning for life in personal success fails for the same reason that individualism fails.
8. The bearing of the white man's burden is now revealed as having been a process of enslavement and demoralization.
9. Our nationalism has become the great millstone about our necks.

FACING this black picture of our modern "culture," Mr. Tigner is not so naive as to offer an easy solution. He finds Christianity "an abandoned house" . . . "a sort of souvenir of grandfather's day." The Bible is "a reverently unread volume." The church might almost be described as "a sick horse." The loyalty of Christians to the church is "a left-over loyalty."

Back to the Church!

HOWEVER, in spite of "the desuetude into which Christianity has been suffered to lapse," Mr. Tigner's "one specific recommendation" is that men *come back to the church.*

". . . the church, for all its faults, happens to be the only institution whose primary object is the seeking and teaching of the Christian gospel, on the basis of which or in the light of which alone I believe our life and health are to be securely found."

This is a *fighting* book. Mr. Tigner is no ivory tower specialist. He steps out into the center of the ring and meets all comers. His lambasting of the ideas that have brought the world to its present sorry state is no mere sparring for points; it is the deadly punching of a champion who aims for a knockout. His book, with its powerful attack as well as its devastating humor, will put a torch into the hands of those who are called to lead the church in this day of desolation and despair.

HUGH STEVENSON TIGNER is a native of Texas, a graduate of St. Lawrence University and the St. Lawrence Divinity School, and is minister of the Universalist Church in Canton, N. Y.—seat of St. Lawrence University. The vigor and brilliance of his thought has been shown in numerous magazine articles.

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